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PAPERS

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OTHERWISE ILLUSTRATING ITS WORK

NOTE.—The First Number of this "Annual" having been privately printed and issued gratuitously to friends of the School, the whole stock was exhausted before it was decided to offer succeeding numbers for public sale.

In order to meet demands from intending subscribers to the "Annual," the archæological contributions to the First Number are here reprinted, uniform with the succeeding numbers, to the exclusion of the preliminary matter which occupied pp. 1—54.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1894-5.*

THE excavations between the Pnyx and the Areopagus made by the German School under the direction of Professor Dörpfeld, have been continued once more during the present season. In consequence of the great interest of the topographical problems involved, it was decided last year that the site should be expropriated by the Greek Government, and thus the excavators are no longer hampered by the necessity of piling up the earth near at hand, so that it could be put back again if required. The liberal subvention made by the German Government to its School was supplemented this year by private subscriptions, for the purpose of these excavations, and consequently it was possible to continue them for a considerable time, and to clear a large area. Unfortunately it has hitherto proved impossible to divert the modern road, which runs right through the site, and conceals the place where Professor Dörpfeld supposes that the fountain Enneacrunus once stood. Until this also can be removed, we can hardly expect to arrive at certainty on the point.

Under these circumstances, the confirmation or refutation of Dr. Dörpfeld's theories of Athenian topography in this region has still to depend on the evidence offered by the surrounding buildings. Here, too, nothing decisive has yet been found, though many very interesting discoveries have been made, which are cited with great ingenuity by Professor Dörpfeld as tending to corroborate his theory. A provisional plan of the excavations, published in the last number of the Athenian *Mittheilungen* for 1894, makes it easy to realise the results which they have so far attained. It may be remembered that last year some traces were found of an early shrine of Dionysus, in the angle between the modern road and the south edge of the Areopagus. This has now been completely cleared; the precinct is triangular in shape, and is completely surrounded by roads. Near one corner are traces of a temple; in the middle are the remains of an altar, in the form of a table resting on four legs, and beside this, in the basis of the altar, is a sinking for a stela. At another corner is the most interesting feature of all: a wine press, originally of quite early period, and showing signs of repairs at

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different dates, and a floor at various levels. All these indications serve to show that there was an early precinct of Dionysus here, on the spot later adopted by the Iobacchi, whose inscription was found last year. Professor Dörpfeld identifies this earlier shrine as the Lenaeum or the Dionysium in the marshes (Limnae). This is not the place or time to discuss the probability of the identification, which may be confirmed or disproved by further discoveries; but it is only fair to notice that it corresponds fairly well with the position assigned to this early Dionysium by Maas in his dissertation *de Lenaeo et Delphinio*, and is certainly more probable than the position near the Dipylum gate formerly assigned to the Lenaeum by Professor Dörpfeld.* Of course there are arguments on the other side, which need not be repeated here, since they are familiar to all those who are interested in Athenian topography. The only one that needs to be repeated in this new connexion is that the name Limnae, the marshes, certainly seems an unlikely one for this high district. The ground between the Acropolis, the Areopagus, and the Pnyx forms a watershed, with a fairly rapid descent down the valley between the two latter hills; nor does there appear to be any geological reason why the conformation of the ground in early times should have been different enough to cause a swamp to form here. The overflow from the springs and wells, or later from the aqueduct built in the sixth century, does not seem to supply an adequate reason for the name. It was expected that some trace of the Odeum described by Pausanias near the Enneacrunus would be found near the precinct of Dionysus, but no certain remains of it have yet been discovered. The lower parts of several buildings which face on to the surrounding roads are fairly well preserved, and some of them are particularly interesting for their pavements, which are almost like a simple mosaic, made of pebbles cut flat on their upper side. Some of these probably go back at least to the fifth century B.C., a much earlier date than has hitherto been attested for this kind of work.

Another very interesting discovery has resulted from the complete clearing of the small precinct previously found on the east of the ancient road. The reliefs found in this precinct were sufficient to show that it was dedicated to some god of healing, though the excavators rightly hesitated to call it a sanctuary of Asclepius. An inscription

* See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments, etc.*, p. 21.

has been found proving that it was dedicated to Asclepius and Amynus; that is to say, no doubt, Amynus was the earlier Attic hero to whom it really belonged, though, like all other subordinate divinities of healing, he had later to share his honours with Asclepius. The same inscription mentions also another associated hero, Dexion, who had a separate precinct, of which the position is not known. His name is of peculiar interest, because it is said that the poet Sophocles, who in his lifetime was priest of the healing hero Alcon, was worshipped after his death under the name of Dexion. New light is constantly being thrown on these heroes or deities of healing, and the subject is daily becoming more complicated and more interesting.

The ancient road has also been followed up to where it turns off sharply to the left, to mount the ascent of the Acropolis. Unfortunately the hill at this point has been so much denuded that hardly any ancient remains are left, and hence it is impossible to test by excavation the corectness of Professor Dörpfeld's theory that the Eleusinion occupied this angle of the road. This is again a disappointment. It is possible that a continuation of the excavations, especially under the modern road, may lead to the discovery of some inscriptions or other indisputable evidence as to the controverted points in the topography of this region. But it seems as if we must after all be content to draw our inference from the evidence that is now available, and under these circumstances it is hardly to be hoped that we shall as yet have any complete agreement among Athenian topographers, or that the era of controversy is likely to come to a speedy end. There is plenty of new material to discuss, but very little of such a nature as to close discussion.

During these excavations an attempt was also made to solve the question whether there was a subterranean passage beneath the orchestra of the theatre of Dionysus, as in so many other theatres recently excavated. A premature announcement of the discovery of this passsge was made in the Greek newspapers, which unfortunately, in spite of Professor Dörpfeld's immediate contradiction, came to be repeated in some English periodicals. What was found was nothing but some irregular cuttings in the rock, of no particular shape, and evidently not intended for use; one well-like hole was very early, and contained fragments of Mycenaean pottery; others appear to be mere

soundings, perhaps taken when the theatre was being made or altered, to ascertain the nature of the ground. It was also found that the rock was cut away in a straight ledge, just under the line of the stage of Phaedrus; this cutting, which is evidently an early one, may not be without importance in the reconstruction of the early theatre; it shows that the orchestra of levelled rock extends only over the part bordered by the lowest seats of the auditorium: outside this may have been either earth or a wooden platform.

At Eleusis, the excavations of the Archaeological Society have been continued, under the direction of M. Skias; and the outlying portions of the site are being slowly cleared. Amongst the most recent discoveries is a plaque of late red-figured style, representing some ceremony connected with the mysteries; on the pediment above is a figure of Artemis.

The American School, wishing to follow up its successful identification of the demes of Icaria and Plothea, at the back of Pentelicus, made excavations this spring at Kukunari, beyond Stamata. The project was due to Professor Merriam, and was carried out after his death under the direction of Professor Richardson. No topographical results were obtained, such as might test the correctness of Professor Milchhöfer's identification of the site as Hecale. But an interesting inscription was found containing a sacrificial calendar: the days and offerings are prescribed for various divinities, and the price of the victims is in every case added. The local gods and heroes seem to belong mostly to the Marathonian tetrapolis; many of the names are new and interesting.

Other excavations in Attica have been concerned with the opening of tumuli. The most successful of these were conducted by the Swedish archaeologist, Dr. S. Wide, at Aphidnae; he found in a tumulus many graves of Mycenaean period, containing vases, ornaments in gold and other metals, and also some skeletons, one of gigantic size. At Brauron other tumuli were opened by the Greek authorities, but without much result, as they had been previously rifled. And at Karà, at the foot of Hymettus, Mr. Myres, of the British School, investigated the nature of the stony mounds so common in this region, marked on the German map as tumuli. After opening two or three of these, he came to the conclusion that they were merely heaps of stones gathered off the fields,

of no funereal significance. But many of them go so deep beneath the present level of the soil, that they evidently are remains of very early cultivation.

The temple of Poseidon on Calauria (the modern Poros) has also been excavated by Dr. S. Wide. It is famous for its view of Athens across the Saronic Gulf, which induced Demosthenes to choose it as the scene of his exile and his death; in early time it was also the centre of a religious amphictyony of considerable influence. Unfortunately almost everything above ground has been carried off for building purposes, and all that could be found was the plan of the foundations. These show the position of the temple and its enclosing precinct, and also of an agora beside it, flanked with porticoes. One of these, which is well preserved, is of quite early date, showing polygonal walls and capitals not much later than those of the Parthenon. A sacred road evidently led up through the agora to the temple. But little was found in the way of portable antiquities or inscriptions; some proto-Corinthian vase-fragments and a Mycenaean idol show the site to have been used from early times.

At Epidaurus, the shafts sunk in the stadium last summer by M. Cabbadias led to most interesting discoveries, and consequently the whole border of the seats, as well as both ends of the course, is now being completely cleared. In the stadium, as in the theatre, the seats of white limestone are preserved all round, at least in the front row, and to some extent behind it; the gutter in front of these is also preserved. But the greatest discovery of all is the line of the goal or starting-point —it is clear that what was the goal for the stadium must have been the starting-point for the diaulos. This is excellently preserved at the deeper end; it resembles that found in the stadium at Olympia, but with the difference that at Epidaurus we see preserved not only the sockets for the posts that separated the places assigned to the various competitors, but the marble posts actually standing. These were doubtless used for the same purpose as had already been suggested by Mr. Bosanquet in a paper read at the British School for the sockets at Olympia—to carry the ends of the strings that separated the courses assigned to the various competitors in a sprint race, according to the custom followed in athletic games at the present day. The seats on one side show dedicatory inscriptions; on the other, inscriptions re-

cording the manumission of slaves in the simplest possible formula. Along each side of the course are placed five stones, dividing it into six spaces of one hundred feet each.

The excavation of the Heraeum near Argos has been brought to a conclusion this spring by Professor Waldstein. In addition to the two temples and their surrounding buildings, as previously cleared, a fine portico has now been quite uncovered. The most important finds of the present season are some more fragments of the metopes of the temple. Two of the heads are in fine condition, and one of them is among the best things that have been discovered upon the site; it is the helmeted head of a warrior, in excellent style; and it certainly will form an important link in the argument about the school to which the sculptures are to be assigned. Its publication must of course be awaited before any more can be said upon this matter. Fragments of pottery were again discovered in great numbers, mostly of the same early styles as before, though a few pieces are of a peculiar character. There is now a great mass of material from these excavations in the museum at Athens, which will take a long time to work up; its publication will be awaited with considerable interest. Among the smaller finds may be noted an early inscription on bronze, which is a fine specimen of the Argive alphabet, and apparently contains a portion of a law or a decree.

At Mycenae, M. Tsountas has continued his excavations. Curiously enough, his chief find this season was a most unexpected one—a large hoard of silver coins of good Greek period. Perhaps its owner may have chosen Mycenae to hide his treasure, as being the last place where anybody would be likely to look for it.

M. Tsountas also opened, during the summer, several of the prehistoric graves on the island of Amorgos. He found many objects of the Mycenaean or earlier periods, including lance-heads, pottery, terracottas, and a statuette of very primitive style.

On Delos, the excavations of the French School were continued during the summer by M. Couve; they have been devoted mostly to the clearing of the prosperous town which grew up around the sacred precinct in late Greek times. Several houses, of Hellenistic or early Roman period, prove to be preserved to a considerable height, and the decoration of their walls, as well as the statues and other ornaments which they contained, have in many cases been recovered. Among the

statues is an extremely fine copy of the Diadumenos of Polyclitus, which must rank higher than any hitherto known; another very beautiful work is a draped female statue, which recalls the type of the finest Tanagra statuettes. It is to be hoped that these statues will soon be transported to the Museum at Athens; at present they remain at Delos, exposed to the weather and to the risk of even more violent damage. The fine statue of Ofellius also deserves better care.

The French excavations at Delphi have also been resumed, with the help of a fresh subvention from the French Chamber, which has now voted about £30,000 for this work, apart from the regular grants made to the French School. There is not very much in the way of new discoveries to report since this time last year; the excavations were continued through the greater part of the summer; among other things found was a very fine statue of Antinous, almost perfect in preservation, and some good bronzes, including an archaic Apollo and a copy of the Doryphorus type. So much has been written already about the sculpture and other monuments discovered in the previous season that there is no need to add any general description here; no more buildings have been identified as yet, beside those mentioned in last year's report. But a further study of what had already been found has led to some interesting results, which have already been published by M. Homolle at an open meeting of the French School, and may be recorded here with due acknowledgment.

I have in the first place to correct one or two mistakes in my last year's report, such as it is difficult to avoid in writing very soon after a discovery. The horse's head, which is there quoted as probably being the only fragment found of the pedimental sculptures of the temple, has been fitted on to a body, and certainly does not belong to the temple sculptures at all. It is to be feared that there is now no hope of finding these architectural sculptures; probably they must either have been taken away bodily by some later emperor to Rome or Constantinople, or else they must have been destroyed together with the marble front, which the Alcmaeonidae generously substituted for the stone one which they had contracted to supply. No remains of this marble front have been found, except one triglyph, which is buried deep in the foundations of the temple; nor does the form of the architectural members which have survived suggest a sixth-century origin.

It seems clear that the temple of which the remains are now visible must be due to a rebuilding of which there is no historical record; but Pausanias speaks of the pedimental sculptures by Praxias and Androsthenes as if they were still to be seen on the temple.

Several more metopes and fragments of metopes have been added to the treasury of the Athenians; nearly thirty can now be reconstructed in whole or in part, and this is the total number contained by the building. It appears probable, as M. Homolle suggests,* that the two façades, of six metopes each, were accorded to the exploits of Heracles and of Theseus respectively, and that one side was occupied by the metopes representing the contest with Geryon, and his cattle, and the fight with the Amazons: the subject of the other side seems still uncertain. The series of caryatid figures, of which four have been recovered, apparently belonged to a separate building or small portico, not, as had at first seemed possible, to the treasury of the Siphnians.

The sculptural decoration of the Siphnian treasury has now been arranged and studied with care, and it forms a most valuable series. The pediment is apparently the earliest of all; it is, like the rest, of Parian marble,† and represents the contest between Heracles and Apollo for the tripod; it has the remarkable peculiarity that the upper part of the background is cut away so as to leave the figures in the round, while the lower part is only in relief. The square-cut forms of the relief, and the rather squat proportions of the figures, are of a very archaic appearance. On the frieze a gradual development can be traced, from the very early style of some parts to a far freer and more advanced treatment in other groups. The subject seems to be the Apotheosis of Heracles on the west side; the preparations for the race between Pelops and Oenomaus on the south; the fight of Patroclus and the other heroes before Troy over the body of Sarpedon on the east, with the group of the seated gods looking on from either end, and the Gigantomachy on the north. These subjects are no longer a matter of conjecture; it has been discovered that every figure had its name painted either on the field of the relief or on its margin; and although the paint has in every case disappeared, the faint scratches

* *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894, p. 183. I am indebted to this account throughout these remarks.

† My statement about this pediment in last year's report is erroneous, but by a singular chance attributes it to Peloponnesian art.

made on the stone to guide the painter still remain, and can, with care, be deciphered. The variety and vigour of conception of these sculptures, and their care and delicacy of execution, must be seen to be realised. Casts of all the finest sculptures from Delphi have been made, and were exhibited last winter in the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris; they are now in the Louvre, and a glance at them is better than any amount of description. The school to which the sculpture of the Siphnian treasury must be assigned has already caused some discussion. The names attached to the figures offer no indication; here, as in other works found at Delphi, they are added in the local alphabet. But on the shield of one of the warriors is incised an inscription in very curious decorated forms of letters, which was at first thought to have no meaning. This has now been deciphered with great ingenuity by M. Homolle as the artist's signature in the Argive alphabet; unfortunately his name is lost; but the Argive form of ⊦ (Λ) is clear, and there are other indications of an Argive connection. If so, we shall be able to quote the sculpture of the Siphnian treasury as an example of Argive art at the close of the sixth century; and with it, and the corresponding reliefs from the treasury of the Athenians, we shall have a wealth of material for comparison and contrast which cannot fail to throw much light on the history of Greek art at the most interesting period of its development.

In the case of so great an excavation as that of Delphi, it is impossible to do more than comment on a few of the most important discoveries. Provisional publications are promised, and will be awaited with the greatest interest. In particular, the great building inscription, dealing with the restoration of the temple in the fourth century, may be expected to help to solve the difficult problem of the date of the present remains of the temple.

At present the question of the preservation of the monuments of Greece, and their restoration if necessary, is even more prominent than that of their excavation. Public attention was drawn by the earthquakes of last spring to the dangerous state of the Parthenon. It is true that none of the fragments which then fell were of very great importance; but an examination of their fractures showed that many of the cracks, which it was hoped were only superficial, went deep into the substance of the marble, and made the preservation of many parts

of the building extremely precarious. The same conclusion was reached by the French architect, M. Magne, as the result of a minute study of the Parthenon both before and after the earthquakes. A scaffolding has been erected, to facilitate a close study of the inner architrave of the western front, which is the part in most immediate danger of falling, and the German architect, Herr Durm, has undertaken the task of supervising the necessary repairs. It is agreed on all hands that a new block of marble is necessary at this point; but all round the building, especially at the corners and along the west front, there are most ominous cracks, which require the most serious attention. It is to be hoped that some means will be found by which the Parthenon may be put out of danger, without being disfigured either by new blocks or by unsightly bands and clamps. The remedy is not an easy one, and is worthy of the attention of all architects and of all who have any affection for the noblest monuments of Greek art.

Another monument of Athens, the Panathenaic Stadium, is to undergo restoration on a very magnificent scale. In consequence of the project of the international athletic meeting, to be held in Athens in the spring of 1896 under the title of the Olympic games, it was resolved to put the stadium into a fit state for practical use; and one of the most munificent of modern Greeks, M. Avérof, has given a large sum of money to supply it with marble seats, like those once placed there by Herodes Atticus. Some portions of the decoration provided by Herodes are preserved, and these will serve as a model for the whole restoration.

In the National Museum, much progress has been made with the arrangement of the antiquities. All the vases, bronzes, and terra-cottas have now been transferred from the Polytechnic into this museum, which is now one of the most complete and varied in the world, as well as unrivalled in many branches. The vases are admirably arranged and exhibited, and many early classes can now be studied in Athens as they can nowhere else. A catalogue of the vases by M. Couve, of the French School, will soon appear, and M. de Ridder, of the same School, is also employed upon a catalogue of the bronzes, of which a part is already published. All the bronzes from the Acropolis, including those recovered and cleaned by Mr. Bather, are now exhibited in the National Museum. The work of sorting and cataloguing the

vase fragments from the Acropolis, by Dr. Wolters, Dr. Gräf, and Dr. Hartwig, is now completed, and arrangements are being made for its publication. It is to be hoped that this magnificent series will soon be made accessible to study.

To turn next to Byzantine work, the restoration of the mosaics of the Church at Daphne is now all but completed. The process by which these mosaics were removed while the dome was rebuilt has been recorded in a previous report. Almost all of them have now been restored to their places in the church, from the canvas to which they had been temporarily transferred. No attempt has been made to complete them, or to restore the missing portions. The excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society within the walls of the monastery have led to some interesting results, and have revealed much of the plan of the early conventual buildings. A study of these has been made by M. Millet, who proposes to continue the excavations. Unfortunately another interesting convent in Athens itself, that of St. Andrew, near the Cathedral, has been ruthlessly destroyed to make room for the new offices of the Metropolitan Church. The refectory of this convent contained some very valuable frescoes, which had for some time been concealed by whitewash—among others a fine example of the Tree of Jesse, now hopelessly lost.

Outside Greece, a good deal has been done during the past season to recover or to study the monuments of the art and civilization of Greece and of other kindred peoples. The brilliant results of Mr. Arthur Evans's studies in Crete are already known to the readers of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*: Mr. Evans made another short journey in Crete this spring, accompanied by Mr. Myres, and attained some interesting results in the remains of Mycenaean civilization. Dr. Halbherr, though impeded in his excavations by political difficulties, succeeded in opening some tombs which were intact, and yielded a rich supply of Mycenaean vases and other antiquities. His excavations were subsidised by the Archaeological Institute of America. In Cyprus the British Museum again conducted excavations, this time at Curium, under the direction of Mr. Walters. As well as many later things, there were found here also some Mycenaean vases with human figures, of peculiar types.

In Egypt, an attempt has been made on a considerable scale to test

the possibility of profitable excavations at Alexandria; these were made by Mr. Hogarth, on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and he was joined by Mr. Benson and Mr. Bevan, of the British School at Athens, and by the local archaeologist, M. Botti. Unfortunately the results were mainly negative. The great depth of the soil, and the bad condition of what is preserved beneath it, make excavation within the town of Alexandria almost impracticable. Nor do the tombs in the neighbourhood seem much more likely to repay the work spent on them. On the whole, it must be reluctantly acknowledged that Alexandria is not a site of which any great expectations can be entertained, and it certainly is among the most expensive and difficult to excavate.

It was announced last year that the walls of the Homeric Troy had at last been discovered—of the Troy, that is, which was contemporary with the Mycenaean civilization in Greece, and of which the traditional greatness is recorded in the "Iliad." The walls of this city have been almost entirely cleared during the past summer by Professor Dörpfeld, with a grant from the German Imperial purse. They are of very fine construction, and are regularly built; the most peculiar feature in their construction is that every few yards the line is a little set back, so as to form an advancing angle—a feature noticed also by Dr. Noack in the walls of the fortress of Gha on Lake Copais. The greater part of the circuit of the wall is excellently preserved, though much obscured by the Roman foundations of the later Ilium; three towers, one of which contains a cistern, may still be seen.

The great loss sustained by English archaeology in the death of Sir Charles Newton received a full tribute from all the archaeological bodies in Greece. Another event which cast a gloom over the season was the sudden death, from pneumonia, of Professor Merriam, formerly Director of the American School, who had just returned to Greece to continue his work. Happily it is possible to conclude with a more pleasant recollection, in recording the tribute paid by all archaeologists here, Greeks and foreigners alike, to Professor Ernst Curtius at the dedication of his bust in the Museum at Olympia. That those splendidly conceived and ideally conducted excavations were due to his energy and perseverance would alone suffice for his renown; but it is even more encouraging to think how much of what has since been done is due to the not unworthy emulation of so excellent an example.

ERNEST GARDNER.

SIR CHARLES NEWTON, K.C.B.*

By the death of Sir Charles Newton, England has lost the greatest of her archæologists. He possessed, indeed, in many respects, almost ideal qualifications for the career which he adopted; and I think it may be said, without exaggeration, that no man of our time has done more to recover the monuments of Greek art and history, and to make them accessible to the study and appreciation of our own day. In him, too, this School has lost a friend and a benefactor; indeed, but for the effect produced in England by his discoveries and his influence, it may be doubted whether the British School at Athens would ever have been founded. A successful explorer and excavator, an accurate scholar, whose knowledge and interest was in the history even more than in the art and the literature of Greece, an excellent head of a museum of antiquities, an impressive though not brilliant speaker, and a writer of admirable clearness and finished style, he possessed a breadth of culture only too rare in these days of specialisation; while the dignity and distinction which characterised him in everything gave him a weight of influence far beyond what might otherwise have been commanded by the prestige of his knowledge or of his discoveries.

Newton was born in 1816, and educated at Shrewsbury and Christ Church, Oxford. His proficiency in the methods of classical training then as now practised in our public schools is sufficiently attested by his graceful Latin verses, published in *Sabrinae Corolla*. To this refined scholarship his appointment to the British Museum in 1840 enabled him to add that close familiarity with antiquities which can only be acquired by daily study; and as the various departments of antiquities were not then, as now, subdivided, he had every facility for acquiring an intimate acquaintance with the various collections of coins and gems, as well as of inscriptions, vases, and sculpture, which were afterwards to owe so rich acquisitions to his activity. It would be difficult to imagine a much better preparation for the enterprises upon which he was soon to be employed.

* Paper read at a meeting of the School, by the Director (Mr. Ernest Gardner), on 14th Jan., 1895.

The acquisition of further archæological treasures from Greece was precluded by the prohibition of the export of antiquities which formed a part of the Greek constitution of 1842; but the presentation to the British Museum, in 1846, of twelve slabs from the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, by the ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, suggested another field for the acquisition of the remains of Greek art; and the British Government was sufficiently enlightened to make the most of the opportunity. With a view to a search for more antiquities to be exported from Asia Minor, Newton was appointed British vice-consul at Mytilene in 1852, and since that time he has occupied a foremost place amongst travellers and explorers. He practically held a travelling commission, which gave an official sanction to his explorations and his excavations; these were subsidised by the British Museum and also by the British Government, which supplied him not only with money but also with ships and with professional assistance. His success in obtaining all these concessions shows that he possessed a tact and a persuasiveness no less serviceable to the excavator than the more obvious qualifications for the performance of archæological work; and the influence he thus acquired over those in authority he retained throughout his career, and turned again and again to the most valuable uses.

The story of Newton's travels and discoveries in the Levant is admirably told in the book which he published under that title in 1865; he had already, in 1862, published the more technical and scientific account entitled "A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ." These works not only recorded the remarkable results of his researches but also showed him to possess the rare gift of a style at once scholarly and interesting. They are full of valuable and original contributions to archæology and history; and the more popular work also contains many picturesque sketches of eastern life and manners, and gives an excellent notion of the political and social state of the regions which it describes.

The first discovery made by Newton on Greek soil was the identification of the site of the Amphiareum, near Oropus; this was the result of a short visit which he paid to Greece on his way out to Mytilene; and his estimate of the interest of the discoveries which awaited a

complete clearing of the site has been borne out in recent years by the excavation of the Greek Archæological Society.

The first three years of Newton's vice-consulship were spent, to a great extent, in various travels in the Levant, and led to many minor discoveries, but they were chiefly important as preparing the way for the greater undertakings of the succeeding seasons. In 1854 he again visited Athens, and he there met several members of the French School, then founded about eight years; he comments upon the excellent work that was already being done by them, and the wish to imitate so excellent a precedent was never forgotten by him, though it was thirty years before he had an opportunity of giving his support to a similar institution for English students.

One of the first important excavations undertaken by Newton was in the hippodrome at Constantinople, where he cleared the column of three entwined snakes that once formed the basis of the tripod set up by the combined Greeks after their victory over the Persians at Plataea. Unfortunately, he did not himself reap the fruit of his work; the excavation was hurriedly concluded, and the column was so caked with earth and metallic incrustation that it was left for other scholars to discover and to publish the most interesting inscription engraved on it, which records the names of all the Greek cities which took part in the battle. Here, as he himself says, he "only contributed as a humble pioneer," but the discovery, none the less, was due to his energy.

Newton had taken a special interest in the Mausoleum ever since the presentation of the slabs of frieze from Constantinople to the British Museum, and had published a memoir on the subject in 1847. It was to be expected that one of his first wishes would be to put his theories to the test of excavation, and in 1856 he made his first excavation in the town of Halicarnassus, the modern Budrum. In the same year he returned to England, and requested from the government, with the support of the British Museum authorities, a grant of £2,000, the use of a ship-of-war for six months, and an engineer officer and four sappers to assist in the direction of the work. These were at once granted. One cannot help wondering what would be the reception of an archæologist who should be hardy enough to make such a request at the present day!

By November, 1856, Newton was back at Budrum with H.M.S. *Gorgon*, and the rest of his expedition on board, including every kind of stores and appliances which could be needed in the varied operations of such an expedition—all supplied by the War Office. At first the natives, on seeing these magnificent preparations, demanded double wages; but a party of fifty sailors were landed to begin the work, and after this labour was easy enough to obtain. The great discovery, that of the site of the Mausoleum, was made early in 1857, but it was a long time before the site could be completely cleared, as it was covered with small houses, which had to be bought out. The results of the excavations are now recorded in every history of Greek art, so that there is no need to dwell upon them here, except perhaps to notice the present condition of the problem which they offer to the student of sculpture. Pliny tells us that the four great sculptors, Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheus, and Leochares, undertook the sculptural decorations on the east, north, south, and west sides respectively, and that although Queen Artemisia, who had given them the commission to decorate the tomb of her husband, Mausolus, died before the work was finished, they completed it on their own account with such perfection as to make it one of the seven wonders of the world. This story, which is repeated by Vitruvius, too, in a slightly different form—he introduces Praxiteles also—probably contains a kernel of truth. But the distribution of the sides among the sculptors is incredible, and evidently arises mainly from the accidental circumstance that the building was four-sided, and that there were four chief sculptors, if Pythis, probably one of the architects, who made the colossal chariot on the top of the structure, be excluded. What we possess of the sculptural decoration, beside this chariot, a number of lions, the colossal portraits of Mausolus and Artemisia, which most probably stood inside the building, and several free statues, which stood on or near it, consists of three friezes of different dimensions, one representing a battle of Greeks and Amazons, another a battle of Greeks and Centaurs, which is in high relief, and has suffered much from the weather; and another, representing a chariot race, in very fine preservation, and of delicately finished work, so that it must have been in some position where it was protected, and was probably intended to be seen from near. There may be a doubt where to place these various friezes on the structure; but the

demands of symmetry show that each of them must have run all round the building, which was approximately similar on all its four sides. Now, in the case of a temple there is no objection to assigning the sculptural decoration of the two ends to two different sculptors; the two can never be seen at once, and so long as each complies with the essential conditions of architectural sculpture, there will be no failure of symmetry. But with the Mausoleum the case is totally different. The various friezes must have gone all round the building, in the positions assigned to them by the architects, and any two adjacent sides could be seen at once. Under these circumstances a totally independent composition of the friezes on each of the four sides is clearly out of the question; and, on the other hand, it would be a most awkward arrangement to assign to each of the four sculptors a bit of three different friezes. The arrangement when viewed in this light seems so absurd that it is hard to understand how it can ever have come to be accepted; or, at least, how it failed to be rejected at once as soon as Newton's excavations had showed the real conditions under which the sculptors worked. It is far more natural to suppose that, when the sculptural decoration required had been prescribed by the architects, the various portions of it were assigned to the various sculptors upon some rational principle, and in particular, that each of the friezes was assigned in its whole extent all round the building to a single sculptor, who would thus be able to consider not only the composition of each side when seen alone, but also the symmetrical relation of each pair of sides when seen together. This point being once established, the task of assigning the various sculptures to their respective authors is much simplified, and with the help of the evidence which we possess as to the style of the four masters, it ought not to prove impossible to solve a problem which has hitherto baffled all who have attacked it. We have, for Scopas, the Tegea heads and all the works which have been so successfully affiliated to them by Dr. Gräf and others; for Timotheus, the temple sculptures of Epidaurus; for Bryaxis, the basis recently found in Athens, which may at least be supposed to give us some notion of his style in the treatment of horses; while the Ganymede of Leochares is probably preserved to us at least in copies. It is not my purpose at present to pursue any farther the problem for which all these data are offered; but one thing seems

to me almost certain, and that is that the small frieze with racing chariots is from the hand of Scopas. As Newton observed on its discovery, it evidently occupied a place of honour on the building, where it was sheltered from the weather, and could be seen from near; and it is the finest of all in execution. The style is thoroughly in accordance with what we know of Scopas. The passionate straining of the charioteer towards his goal; the rich folds of the wind-swept drapery; and, above all, the rendering of the face, with its deep-set eye gazing out far ahead, are unmistakable indications. And if, as I have tried to show, we need be hampered by no restrictions, owing to Pliny's artistic, or rather inartistic, distribution of the sides of the building, we may assign this frieze to its author without hesitation; and with new evidence and more careful study it is to be hoped that an equally satisfactory conclusion may be reached in the case of the rest of the strictly architectural sculpture, and even perhaps of some of the free statues which belong to the Mausoleum.

I will not apologise for this apparent digression; there is no better method of testifying to the value of the discoveries which we owe to a man like Newton, than to consider again and again the material which he has offered to our study; the remains of a building like the Mausoleum do not lose, but gain in value, as we learn more about the art of the period in which it was made. The sculpture which decorated it was not mere imitative or second-hand work, such as we often have to be content with now that all the finest and most characteristic specimens of the work of any artist or period are irretrievably lost; but it was universally recognised and admired, even in antiquity, as the work of four of the greatest sculptors of the fourth century, with Scopas himself at their head. To have recovered and made accessible to study the remains of such a monument would alone suffice to place Newton in the foremost rank of archæological explorers; and the result was entirely due to his energy, tact, and perseverance, displayed no less in the actual excavation than in the acquisition of the means by which alone so great an undertaking could have been carried through to a successful conclusion.

But Newton's recovery of the remains of the Mausoleum was not due solely to excavation. When the knights of St. John built the castle of Budrum, they apparently found all the ruins of the Mauso-

leum lying as they had fallen; and they ruthlessly used up as building material nearly all the blocks of stone of which it was constructed, and burnt into mortar all the marble decoration and statues which they could lay hands on. The only exception seems to have been made in favour of the numerous lions that once ornamented the building; these seem to have taken their fancy, and were accordingly built into the walls of the castle for decorative effect. It had long been Newton's wish to get a Firman, authorising him to take these lions from their places and to carry them off with the rest of the remains of the Mausoleum. The conclusion of this endeavour was quite dramatic. The Turkish Minister of War, wishing to forestall the English explorer, had sent orders to the governor of the castle to have the lions extracted, and sent away to Constantinople. This order was carried out, and the lions were actually on board a caique, awaiting sailing orders, when Newton's Firman was brought in by an English despatch-boat. For once the quarantine and other formalities of a Turkish port served a good end; the port-doctor, who was friendly to Newton's operations, delayed signing the papers of the caique until Newton could present his Firman to the governor, and the lions were saved—for this is hardly too strong an expression when we remember the uncertain fate that awaited all antiquities in Turkey until recent years.

Newton's next undertaking was to remove his ship, with his staff and his appliances, to Branchidæ, in order to carry off several of the statues lining the sides of the sacred way, which were at any moment liable to destruction; at the same time he made a small excavation on the spot. He then proceeded to Cnidus, where he dug for some time with considerable success. His researches have established to a great extent the topography of the town; but all his other results here were eclipsed by the discovery of the beautiful statue of the Demeter of Cnidus, the "mater dolorosa" of ancient art, as she has fitly been called. This statue is too well known for me to dwell on it now; but here, too, the last word has not yet been said on the artistic problems which are raised; though the Demeter occupies an unquestioned position among the finest works of fourth-century Greek sculpture, and is in all probability to be assigned to the Praxitelean school. While at Cnidus he also discovered and embarked the colossal lion which is now in the British

Museum; it was set up over a tomb, and is not improbably a monument to those who fell in Conon's great victory at Cnidus, which restored the honour of Athens after the disastrous conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. It forms a fitting companion to the lion of Chæronea, to which it offers, in many ways, a contrast in style. We owe it to Newton that it has not shared a similar fate.

Newton's last service in the Levant was to secure for the British Museum, in 1859, the results of the excavations of Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti, at Camirus and elsewhere in Rhodes, and thus to lay the foundation for our knowledge of Rhodian pottery, now recognised as among the most important elements in the early history of Greek art. He had already, six years before, observed the peculiar nature of the early Rhodian pottery during his travels in the island, and so was prepared to grasp this opportunity of obtaining a representative collection. In 1859 his seven years of pioneer work in the Levant came to an end by his appointment to the British Consulate at Rome. He had worked throughout them with untiring energy and perseverance, and for one of his social qualities and tastes it must have been sometimes irksome to be so completely outside the pale of civilisation that he wrote, when he went on a visit to the embassy at Therapia: "At the first aspect of ladies and gentlemen, I felt like Christopher Sly, and thought it was all a dream; and it was not till after several days' practice in talking English that my long-congealed ideas began to flow, and my tongue to become unlocked." His Roman appointment was but temporary, for in 1861 he was appointed Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, and so most appropriately given the charge of the collections which had been so greatly enlarged by his activity. This post he held until his resignation in 1888. It is difficult to imagine anything much more different from his rough, but adventurous, life of travel and excavation in the East, than the routine work of a museum, and the social duties which his position entailed. But Newton shone equally in both capacities. The splendid record of his achievements, his dignified and commanding personality, and his courteous manners and great powers of conversation, gave him a social prestige which he always turned to the advantage of those studies in which he was interested. Scholars and artists and statesmen acknowledged his eminence, and asked his advice on all matters connected with archæology.

The chief use he made of this influence lay in the encouragement and support of those who were employed in work like that to which he had himself devoted so many years. Chief among these was Mr. Wood, who, after long and persevering search, succeeded in finding the site of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and in sending to the British Museum the invaluable collection of sculpture, architecture and inscriptions which it yielded. Indeed, the acquisitions of the British Museum, either directly due to Newton's own excavations, or contributed by others under his régime, would alone suffice to place it in the foremost rank of the Museums of Europe; they made it as pre-eminent in the monumental records of primitive Greek art and of the finest work of the fourth century, as it already was before his time in the sculpture of the age of Phidias. As to his influence upon those who worked with him in the Museum I cannot do better than quote the words of one of them. "To some of us in those days the desire of Newton's approval was one of the controlling influences of life, and the few words which we daily exchanged with him set mind and will to work. To his subordinates he was severe, but never unjust or unkind; his mere presence seemed to raise the work of the Museum, often in itself a drudgery, to a higher and worthier level." This is a strong statement, but it is well-weighed. Though I never had the privilege of working so immediately under Newton's direction, at one time, when occupied in archæological study in England and in excavation abroad, I had frequent opportunities of meeting him and consulting him on my work; and I also can testify to the wonderful fascination of his influence, and to the encouragement and advice which he offered even to a young student who had no particular claim on his sympathy.

He was known to a wider circle by his writings. Besides the books already mentioned, he published in 1880 a volume of Essays on Art and Archæology, which are models of what such things should be—popular in the best sense; they are scholarly and accurate, and entirely free from unworthy devices for attracting or retaining attention, yet eminently readable and interesting, and distinguished by that clearness and elegance of style which he never tired of inculcating on younger writers, as no less essential to good archæological work than laborious study or originality of thought. His two essays on Greek inscriptions have been recognised on all hands as an almost ideal classification and

survey of what seems a vast and untractable agglomeration of facts; they have been translated both into French and into German, and are adopted by M. Salomon Reinach, with the addition of elaborate notes, to serve as the first part of his excellent handbook of Epigraphy. His publication of the British Museum inscriptions, which he edited to the last, is a monumental work.

In 1880 Newton was appointed Professor of Archæology at University College, London. His first course of lectures was attended by a remarkably large audience. I recently came across some notes of these lectures on Greek sculpture, which had been mislaid and forgotten, and was astonished to find how original and admirable in many ways was his treatment of the subject, which I was at the time incapable of fully appreciating, and which came on me almost as a revelation when I could view it in the light of subsequent study. His style of speaking, as of writing, was refined and polished, and in his inspired moments wonderfully eloquent and impressive. Those who were present in 1884 at the opening ceremony of the Museum of Casts, at Cambridge, can never forget Newton's speech on that occasion. He had regarded it as the chief object of his life to enlarge the somewhat narrow view of Greek studies which was prevalent in England, and to give them a new and living interest by the introduction of classical archæology, and he accepted the formal recognition of archæological studies in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and their provision with the apparatus necessary to their pursuit, as a very great step towards the fulfilment of this object. The ceremony at Cambridge was one of the last which he ever attended in the full vigour of his mental and physical powers, and he seemed to pronounce his "Nunc Dimittis" with the consciousness that his work was done, and in the full confidence that it had not failed of its effect.

Newton took an active interest in the foundation of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and of the British School at Athens. His goodwill took a more tangible form when he expressly requested that the greater part of the testimonial which had been contributed by his friends and admirers on his retirement from the British Museum should be handed over to the funds of this School. The sum was considerable, and allowed us both to make some additions to our library, including the Bulletino, Annali, and Monumenti, of the Institute at

Rome, and also, for two years, to endow students to come to the school from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Sir Charles Newton's work was appreciated, even during his lifetime, both at home and abroad. He was made a Companion of the Bath for his discoveries in the Levant, and was later raised to a Knighthood of the same Order, and he was appointed by the artists Antiquary to the Royal Academy. By the French he was made a Correspondent of the Institut, and the Germans gave him the exceptional privilege of an honorary membership of the Central Direction of the Imperial German Institute of Archæology.

Apart from the wonderful success of his excavations, what is most remarkable about Newton's work is not brilliant originality or skill in the construction of ingenious theories, but breadth of interest, accuracy of fact and sobriety of judgment, expressed in a clear and flowing style. His mind was readily open to new ideas; thus he was one of the first archæologists to appreciate the great value of Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae, which were, owing chiefly to his influence, welcomed with enthusiasm in England while the rest of Europe was still sceptical about them. Yet he was always cautious to distinguish the probable from the certain, and rarely, if ever, lent the weight of his authority to an opinion which was not based upon sure and sufficient evidence. These are the qualities that are needed above all others in the present state of archæological knowledge; and it would be difficult to hold up a better example for the imitation of those who are following in his steps.

ERNEST GARDNER.

ST. PAUL AND THE AREOPAGUS.*

PERHAPS no passage in the whole of the Acts has suffered more from hazy and ill-considered interpretation than that dealing with the visit of St. Paul to Athens (Acts xvii. 16-34). This was due partly to a certain carelessness in defining the exact meaning of individual words, partly to the want of accurate historical knowledge. To Prof. Ernst Curtius belongs the credit of preparing the way for a sounder interpretation, and of prescribing the limits within which the interpreter must move. While critics and expositors before him had generally assumed that the appearance of St. Paul on the Areopagus (for so they interpreted ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον) implied also his presence before the Council of the Areopagus, Curtius challenged this assumption and concluded, as the result of investigations into the history and procedure of the Council, that if St. Paul was led before the Council he stood not on the Areopagus, but in the Stoa Basileios in the Agora. We say nothing, at present, as to the soundness of Curtius' conclusion. We simply avail ourselves of the warning which the possibility of its correctness affords us, and approach the interpretation of the passage with greater caution to see what assistance, if any, is given by the preliminary circumstances in determining the true view of the central incident.

As one day, according to his custom, St. Paul was engaged discussing with chance-comers in the Agora, some Epicurean and Stoic philosophers came up to him and listened to what he was saying. There is no reason to suppose that they met the apostle in a hostile spirit, although it would be equally groundless to assume any predisposition in his favour. Συνέβαλλον in itself is perfectly colourless; it implies neither hostility nor friendliness, and any such definite idea, if it exists, must be gathered from the context.† But as the

* Paper read at a meeting of the British School on Feb. 22nd, 1895.

† Συμβάλλω is found only in Luke and Acts in the New Testament. Of the five instances of the verb in the active, three have the meaning, "to meet, to be thrown together," while the remaining two bear the sense "to throw together in thought, to consider, to deliberate." Of the former instances one is used in the hostile sense (Luke xiv. 31), while another is used of a friendly meeting (Acts xx. 14). But in both these cases the more definite idea is given by the context, and is not contained in the word itself.

context does not warrant us in stating decisively whether the meeting was hostile or friendly, *συνέβαλλον* must be interpreted as referring to a meeting between people at first indifferent to one another. All that the philosophers wanted was to know what the apostle was talking about. When they had listened for a time, some getting impatient because they failed to understand the apostle's meaning, and disposed to be unsympathetic for that very reason, blurted out: "What would this babbling fellow wish to say? What is he driving at?—his words are meaningless, incoherent." Others, again, gave voice to their vague comprehension of the apostle's drift in the words: "Apparently he is a herald of foreign divinities." We shall understand these utterances only when we regard them as a more or less unconscious question and answer, coming from men who were listening to something strange which they did not rightly understand. Even in the first utterance there is no actual hostility; the term *σπερμολόγος** suggests contempt, but nothing more. Nor can any feeling of unfriendliness be inferred from the second remark: "He seems to be a herald of foreign gods." How little serious such a charge was likely to be accounted we may gather from a passage in Strabo, where the readiness with which foreign cults were welcomed in Athens is commented on: *Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσιν οὕτω περὶ τοὺς θεούς· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν ἱερῶν παρεδέξαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἐκωμῳδήθησαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θρᾴκια καὶ τὰ Φρύγια* (Strabo x. 3, 18).

The state of mind, therefore, which the partial recognition of the tenor of the apostle's teaching aroused among the philosophers must be further determined by subsequent events. But it is just here that the greatest difficulty arises. The action taken by the philosophers is the chief point in dispute in the whole passage. *Ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον*—does this mean, "they led him on to the hill of the

* *Σπερμολόγος*: (1) a bird that picked up seed; (2) a street-loafer who picked up whatever fell from loads of goods; (3) applied to speakers, one who picked up words at random without knowing very well what they meant. This last is the meaning here. The same meaning seems to be required in Plut. *Alcib.* 36, Philost. 203, Dio Chrysos. xxxii., p. 363 C. An Onomasticon gives *Loquax. λάλος, σπερμολόγος.* Hesychius and A. Gellius i., 15, interpret *σπερμολόγος* in the same way. Professor W. M. Ramsay considers (*Expositor*, September, 1895) this interpretation quite inadmissible here, and argues for the sense of "plagiarist." But the words *τί ἂν θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν*; plainly indicate that the philosophers did not catch the apostle's drift; in such a case a charge of babbling, of picking up words at random, of speaking incoherently, was more natural than one of plagiarism.

Areopagus"?—or, "they led him before the court of the Areopagus"? Both these interpretations, as will be shown below, are perfectly admissible so far as the mere language is concerned. We must, therefore, seek to determine from the motives which prompted the action of the philosophers which interpretation is the more probable.

From the first expression with which the philosophers hailed the apostle's teaching we have seen that we could gather nothing more definite than the presence, in at least a certain section of them, of undisguised contempt. Had such been the prevailing temper of the listeners, they would undoubtedly have turned aside without more ado from the apostle as from one whom it was not worth while troubling about. Therefore, that some other feeling swayed the gathering we are forced to conclude. What this feeling was we have material for judging in vv. 19, 20, 21. In vv. 19, 20 we find expressed the motive which induced the philosophers to remove the apostle to another scene, while, in v. 21, we have a reflection of the writer's which explains the action of the philosophers according to a well-known trait of the Athenian character. The latter half of v. 19 is plainly ironical. The apostle is asked: "Can we know—are we competent to understand what this new teaching is which is spoken by you?" Here we find again the same spirit which prompted the cry, "What is the babbling fellow driving at?" But, that this feeling of sneering scorn was not uppermost in the minds of the philosophers, we see from v. 20. "For certain astonishing things you bring to our hearing; we, therefore, wish to know what these things may be." It is quite possible that in the first half of the verse we have evidence of the same sarcastic tone; but this did not preclude the feeling of curiosity which we find expressed in the latter half. In short, it seems clear either that the philosophers were divided in their attitude to St. Paul, some being scornful, others curious, or (as is more probable) that the feelings of the whole party were mixed, the earlier feeling of scorn alternating with the feeling of curiosity which eventually gained the mastery. That we are right in supposing curiosity to have been the prevailing temper of the philosophers we see from v. 21, where the writer characterises their action as an instance of the Athenian mania for novelty. "Now all Athenians

and the resident strangers had time* for nothing else than to tell or hear something new."

It is thus clear that the motive which prompted the philosophers to remove St. Paul to a different scene was more or less idle curiosity. We cannot well credit them with any very serious interest in the apostle's teaching, for this would be irreconcilable with their sarcastic manner. But still there was enough in St. Paul to arouse their curiosity. They may not have been disposed to take him very seriously, but they would at least recognise his sincerity in proclaiming his message. This, combined with the novelty of the teaching, may well have excited curiosity in men whose lives moved languidly in the ruts of their own dreary time-worn discussions. Whatever the teaching of the apostle might be it was something which would break the dull monotony and afford at least some entertainment.

Having thus determined the motives of the philosophers in changing the scene of their meeting with St. Paul, we now approach the question of the meaning of ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον ἤγαγον (v. 19). Formerly, it was usual to translate this "they led him on to Mars' Hill." Curtius was the first to condemn this interpretation and to maintain that the words refer to an appearance of the apostle before the Court of the Areopagus sitting in the Agora. It may easily be shown that the lan guage admits of the rendering "they led him before the Council of the Areopagus." First of all, Curtius states that "from ancient times people were accustomed to use instead of the full title ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου the name of the place for the assembly which met there." This is the more to be emphasised, because it is a fact which has not been sufficiently recognised by expositors of the Acts. Even Professor Blass, in his recent philological edition, goes astray on this point; he makes the astonishing statement "non dicitur Ἄρειος Πάγος nisi de

* ηὐκαίρουν expresses the habitual practice of the populace at the time when the incident being described happened. The tense, however, does not necessarily imply that the habit has, at the time of writing, been abandoned. A somewhat similar use of the imperfect is found in John xi. 18, ἦν δὲ Βηθανία ἐγγὺς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, where a fact, true at the time of writing, is woven into the history of past time. That the tense does not here describe an act in progress at the time of the main incident is plain from the comprehensive nature of the statement. The action is predicated of all Athenians (Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες) and resident strangers; this is fatal to the idea of interpreting the passage as referring to a *corona adstantium*, who are supposed to have gathered to hear the apostle when they saw him being led along by the philosophers.

loco." But, in this, Blass is certainly wrong, for it is an easy matter to verify Curtius' assertion. In Aristotle Ἄρειος Πάγος is not uncommonly used instead of the more cumbrous title; it seems to have been the name given to the Council in ordinary talk among the people. And in Roman times, as we might expect, the usage is the same. In Cicero's Letters to Atticus, i. 14, 5, we find "senatus Ἄρειος Πάγος nihil constantius, nihil severius, nihil fortius"; in an inscription belonging to the second half of the 1st cent. A.D. found at Epidauros, the words occur Ἄρειος Πάγος ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι λόγους ἐποιήσατο (Fouilles d'Epidaure, vol. i. p. 68): and in Pollux viii. 117 and elsewhere we have instances of this usage.

But, secondly, Curtius draws attention to the fact that the preposition "ἐπί with the accusative is the proper expression to denote a going or bringing before a public authority." In favour of this he adduces three passages from Herodotus (iii. 46; iii. 156; viii. 79). One might be disposed to question the satisfactoriness of this proof, but on examination one finds that the point is made good by evidence within the New Testament itself. In the Gospel of Luke and the Acts there are seven instances (beyond the one in dispute) of the use of ἐπί with the accusative to denote an appearance before persons in authority. (Luke xii. 58; xxi. 12; xxiii. 1; Acts ix. 21; xvi. 19; xvii. 6; xxv. 12.) This is a usage which, with one exception (Matt. x. 18), is confined in the New Testament to the writer of the Acts.

This being so, how are we to decide between the two possible interpretations? We get no help from v. 22, in which Ἄρειος Πάγος again occurs. It must, indeed, be admitted that the phrase ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου is free from all difficulty if we understand the words to refer to the Council, while it may be urged that "the middle of a hill" is not a very intelligible expression. Besides, the former interpretation is slightly favoured by the words in v. 33 ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν in which it is possible to see a direct reference back to v. 22. But, in spite of this, the difficulties which arise if we suppose the passage to refer to the Council point to the opposing interpretation. It may readily be allowed that in general "the middle of a hill" is not a particularly appropriate expression, but, in the case of the Areopagus, there seems ground for holding that it is not inapplicable. From the old level of the Agora the hill rises scarcely more than 100 feet, and from the

western side it slopes so gradually upwards until it becomes level at the top, that one would not be astonished to find that instead of ἡ κορυφή it was customary to speak of τὸ μέσον, the middle point of the hill.* But, if the possibility of this were denied we are, it seems to me, still in a position to interpret the passage in reference to the hill. There is ground for believing that Ἄρειος Πάγος from meaning the whole eminence came in general usage to be applied to the judgment-place on the summit of the hill. In this sense Ἄρεοις Πάγος is to be translated in the phrases εἰς Ἄρειον Πάγον ἀναβῆναι, ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ Πάγῳ, where ἐπὶ would, in both cases, be used if the hill itself were meant. This being so, there can be no question as to the perfect appropriateness of the phrase ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου as denoting a position on the hill.

In seeking to arrive at the true solution of the difficulty, it may be well, first of all, to examine the case presented by Curtius on behalf of the appearance of the apostle before the Council of the Areopagus in the Agora. This view we find advanced first in the *Stadtgeschichte von Athen* (pp. 262, 263). Here Curtius regards the apostle as being led before the council and charged with the introduction of new gods. But since the preliminary investigations (the προδικασία) in all cases falling under the jurisdiction of the Areopagus were carried out in the Stoa Basileios† in the Agora, it was plain that the scene of the apostle's speech was not Mars' Hill, but the King's Hall in the market-place. Curtius' words are the following: "Paul was led by those whom he had most exasperated towards the King's Hall, where the cases which fell to be decided by the Areopagus were commenced: it was the same place where, according to Plato, Socrates and Euthyphron met. Here,

* Standing on the spot I had it from the lips of a young Athenian philologist that this would be a perfectly possible expression.

† On this point Curtius differs from other authorities on the subject. He himself remarks: "the locality of the Προδικασία is nowhere stated. According to Schömann *Alterth.* I³ S. 496, and Philippi, *Areopag.* S. 85f, it took place on the Areopagus. In my opinion the sacred place of assembly was not suited for such judicial preliminary investigations" (Gesamm. Abhandl. II., 529, n). So far as I am aware, there is only one passage which lends support to Curtius' view. In Demosthenes in Aristog. 776, we are told that when the Areopagus sat in the King's Hall it was surrounded by a rope to keep off all intruders (τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλὴν ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη περισχοινίσηται . . .). If we bear this fact in mind, and consider the tediousness of the preliminary investigations in the higher Athenian law-courts, it may be regarded as not improbable that the προδικασία, in cases falling to the Areopagus, was carried out in the King's Hall.

first of all, the question had to be decided whether there were grounds for a charge of introducing new gods, and here, before the King's Hall, in the midst of the representatives of the Areopagus, within hearing of a great assembly of people, the apostle could deliver the speech, in which he repudiated the charge, because he was introducing no new god, but sought only to make known to them the 'Unknown God,' whose altar he had seen as he passed along among the monuments. . . . The Council did not sustain the charge, and Dionysius was undoubtedly the spokesman of those who brought about this decision."

There is one fatal objection to this interpretation. It is an altogether groundless assumption to suppose that judicial proceedings of any kind were instituted against the apostle.* There is no suggestion of this in the passage, the tone of which indeed directly contradicts it. Of any embittered feeling among the philosophers there is no trace; the new doctrine did not provoke to anger, but stimulated the natural passion to hear something strange and new. The philosophers' one desire, accordingly, was, not to have St. Paul's teaching put to the test before a judicial assembly, but to gratify the curiosity which had been excited in them. And in the speech which followed there is no apologetic note. It is not the utterance of a man placed on his defence, but of one whose single purpose was to persuade the people of the truth of his message. And the result was, not any formal acquittal, but scoffs and shallow professions of interest, in the midst of which the apostle was allowed to go his way unchecked.†

Curtius was not long in admitting the justice of this objection. In a special essay, which now appears in his "Gesammelte Abhandlungen," Bd. II., he rejects the idea of judicial proceedings. But his main result is the same; St. Paul delivered his speech not on Mars' Hill, but before the Areopagus in the Agora. The rejection of any definite charge brought against the apostle removes the one serious flaw of the

* This is an error which we find in Chrysostom and other Fathers. Chrysostom writes: "ἦγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον, οὐχ ὥστε μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥστε κολάσαι, ἔνθα αἱ φονικαὶ δίκαι."

† Οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν. "So," *i.e.*, after having provoked mockery in some and a cold interest in others (τοὺς μὲν πείσας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γελώμενος, says Chrysostom), "Paul went out from their midst." There is no suggestion in these words of the apostle's being in any danger, and the idea of judicial proceedings, which must have ended either in a definite acceptance or rejection of the charge, is likewise excluded.

earlier interpretation. The true tone of the passage is now caught, and justice done to the simple curiosity of the crowd as the key to the interpretation of the whole incident. In this new view of the case the whole question of the locality of the προδικασία in cases falling under the jurisdiction of the Areopagus becomes indifferent. All that Curtius had to do was to provide for the presence of the Areopagus in the public market; hence we have his statement, "It is certain that in Roman times the Areopagus had a business place in the Agora." Curtius gives no authority for this statement; still, as the administrative duties of the Council in Roman times were very varied, it must be allowed that he has not gone beyond what he is entitled to assume. An administrative body without offices would of course be an absurdity. We may take it, therefore, as tolerably certain, that if the apostle was brought before the Areopagus, he was led towards the King's Hall.

Curtius' new interpretation, though free from the serious objection that proved fatal to his first, cannot be regarded as satisfactory. He states his view in the following words: "To satisfy their curiosity the philosophers arranged for a longer statement on Paul's part, and sought to give the forthcoming speech a higher importance by getting the authorities of the city to take an interest in it." (Gesamm. Abhandl., II. 528.) This is a conception which, I venture to think, is well-nigh unintelligible. For, first of all, how are we to conceive of the part played by the Council? Had there been any suggestion of a hostile feeling among the philosophers towards St. Paul, or of any charge brought by them against him, the picture as drawn by Curtius would have been quite natural, and we could have frankly accepted the appearance of the apostle before the Areopagus; but in the absence of all evidence of any charge or even of any hostility, such an appearance seems perfectly unintelligible. Or are we to assume that the supreme court of Athens was willing to allow any gathering of citizens to bring before it any person they pleased, against whom they brought no charge, merely (as Curtius says) "to give especial emphasis to their curiosity," or "to secure thereby a higher importance for the forthcoming speech"? This is an assumption which is hardly consistent with the character of any court of justice, and still less so with the character of such a court as the Areopagus. In any case, in the absence of all positive evidence, we are not justified in assuming such a possi-

bility. But surely a liberty of this kind would have been an infringement of the dignity of an assembly such as the Areopagus was. For a court, with which lay, even in Roman times, as Cicero informs us, practically the administration of the whole city,* was not likely to suffer the intrusion of a crowd, whose only aim was the gratification of a more or less idle curiosity.

But again, if we consider Curtius' interpretation, having regard to the feelings of the philosophers, we fail to be satisfied with it. For the feeling, which was uppermost in the minds of the philosophers was, as Curtius admits, the desire to satisfy their curiosity. This being so, was it natural for them to hurry the object of their curiosity into the midst of a grave and dignified assembly? How could this possibly forward the aim which they had in view? Their one object in leading the apostle from their first place of meeting was to gratify their craving for something new, and what reason can be suggested to show that the Council of the Areopagus would be helpful in effecting this object? It would indeed have been strange had the philosophers ever thought of leading St. Paul before the Council. For they hardly took the apostle seriously; the whole business was too trivial to call for the participation of the Areopagus in it.

These grounds seem sufficient to warrant serious doubt as to the truth of Curtius' interpretation and to point favourably towards the opposing view, which represents the philosophers as leading the apostle on to Mars' Hill that they might the more peaceably listen to his teaching. Nor is the impression in favour of this view lessened by Curtius' criticism of it. His words are these, "ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον—that cannot mean, they led him to a rocky hill lying at some distance frem the market; for the market always remained the scene of the incident, and the market crowd remained always the same: up on the bare summit of the rock, too, no one was to be found"; and again "(the philosophers) had no reason for leading Paul from the market hall away to the windy rocky height, which was the most unsuitable place imaginable for assemblies and speeches. The Agora,

* "Atheniensium rempublicam consilio regi Areopagi" (*De nat. deor.* 2, 29, 74). Philippi regards this as a highly exaggerated statement, but in any case there can be no doubt that the Areopagus was, in Roman times, the most powerful and dignified court in Athens. It retained its dignity even after the devastation of Athens by Sulla.

on the other hand, where the philosophers, day after day, carried on their discussions, was well suited for speaking and hearing."

Let us examine these objections one by one. (1) Curtius objects that, considering the suitability of the Agora for speaking and hearing, there was no need to lead the apostle away to a hill which lay at some little distance. The question of distance is too trifling to be meant very seriously. Even supposing that the apostle had been standing in the part of the Agora most remote from the hill, the distance to be traversed would not be more than two hundred yards—an insignificant distance, surely, to deter any one whose ends would be better served by a change of scene. But the chief weight of Curtius' argument rather lies in the attempt to prove that no change of scene was necessary. Now, whether the Agora was so perfectly suited, as Curtius asserts, for the apostle's exposition of his teaching may well be doubted. It is true that it was a common practice for the philosophers to ply their dialectic in argument in the busy market-place, but this in no way proves its suitability as a scene for such a speech as the philosophers desired of St. Paul. It is one thing for a knot of men to engage in a dialectic discussion, in which the excitement, and the careful observance of the movements of one's opponent make one oblivious of all extraneous interruptions; but it is quite another thing to listen to an orderly speech when all around there is continual movement and the din of other voices. This being so, it was, to say the least of it, as natural that the philosophers should retire to some place where they would be able peaceably to enjoy their new discovery, as that they should remain in the Agora where they were liable to interruption from the continual coming and going of passers-by. In any case there is no justification whatever for the statement which Curtius makes, that "the market always remained the scene of incident." For what meaning can the words ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον have if they do not refer to some change of scene, the precise direction of which must be determined otherwise than by the bare assertion that it took place within the limits of the Agora? There is, therefore, no valid ground of objection here against interpreting the passage as denoting a change of scene from the Agora to Mars' Hill.

But (2) Curtius seeks to strengthen his case against laying the scene of the apostle's speech on the Areopagus by the observation:—

"Up on the bare rocky summit there was no one to be found." The force of this objection it is hard to see. If we consider that the very reason which would prompt the philosophers to lead St. Paul from the market-place was the presence of a disturbing crowd it is at once apparent that this objection of Curtius tells in favour of the interpretation which he is condemning. It was just because there was no one on the rocky hill that made it a place suitable to the requirements of the case; for there without any risk of interruption the philosophers could listen to the story of the new religion.

And (3) Curtius founds an objection on the natural features of the hill. "The windy, rocky height," he says, "was the most unsuitable place imaginable for assemblies and speeches." Against this it may be urged that it is inadmissible to support any theory by conjectural atmospheric conditions; for up on the rocky hill it is not always windy, as Curtius would seem to imply. But it may fairly be argued that if the hill could serve as a meeting place for the Council of the Areopagus it could equally well be used for the same purpose by the philosophers and St. Paul. For a large public assembly doubtless the top of the Areopagus was no fit place; but we are told nothing as to the size of the crowd, and, indeed, are entitled to assume that the number of listeners was not very great. For this meeting was more or less a kind of private reception given to the apostle by a few philosophers eager to enjoy the latest novelty.

From this review of Curtius' position and of the arguments by which it is supported, it will at once be apparent that there is ground for very serious doubt as to its claims for acceptance. The picture of the general situation which the theory presents is one which we can only with difficulty imagine; for whether we view the appearance of St. Paul before the Areopagus from the standpoint of the Council itself or from that of the philosophers we equally fail in conceiving its probability. But not only has Curtius given us a theory which is doubtful in itself, he has also failed in making good any objection against the theory which he opposes. It remains, therefore to show in a word that the picture which results from the acceptance of the opposing interpretation is at once natural and consistent.

The teaching of St. Paul, as we have seen, awakened in the philosophers lively feelings of curiosity. Though they looked with

supercilious pride on the man who, with little grace of person or of words, ventured to invade their popularly recognised rights as teachers of the people, they could not help feeling a certain amount of curious interest in one whose strange words were commended by the tone of conviction in which they were uttered. Altogether the apostle was a curious phenomenon in Athens. Here was a chance which the philosophers could not miss. They must get more out of the man. If they never dreamed of getting new light on the problems of philosophy they counted on an hour's relief from the daily monotony. But the market with its continual unrest was no place for such an entertainment as they had in prospect. They must seek out some quiet nook where they could enjoy themselves in peace. The Areopagus was near at hand with not a soul on it to disturb them. So "they took the apostle by the hand (ἐπιλαβόμενοι αὐτοῦ) and led him on to the Areopagus." Here on the level space that crowned the hill the apostle took his stand and sought, by appealing to the fundamental religious truths which lay latent in the hearts of his hearers, to win their sympathy and turn them to the living God.

In this, it appears to me, we have an interpretation which does justice to the language of the whole passage and is free from all serious difficulty. It is preferable to that adopted by Curtius because it gives us a picture more easily intelligible and more in accordance with the simple probabilities of the case.

A. F. FINDLAY.

CRITICISM OF GRUNDY'S PLATÆA.

WHILE in Greece during the past spring, I procured from Mr. G. B. Grundy his extremely able survey and account of the battle of Platæa,* and after reading it I spent every minute of time that I could spare on the ground, with his map. This time unfortunately only amounted to two hours, 5 to 7 P.M., on the first day, and seven hours, 5 A.M. to 12 noon, on the second, including a visit to the site of Platæa itself, wherein I had the company of Dr. Merentites,† of Kriekouki, who had most kindly given me hospitality for the night, and his son. Moreover, as the previous day had been a regular downpour, the ground was in its very heaviest condition, and locomotion was by no means rapid. I cannot, therefore, presume to offer any local criticism which is worth considering as against Mr. Grundy's opinion; but I made certain notes at the time, including a strategical criticism of a general character, and have been asked to publish them in this journal.

1. Mr. Grundy's identification of the *νῆσος* seems to me most happy —is it presumptuous to say *certain* ?—while the former *νῆσος* as viewed from the site of Platæa, for I had not time to reach it, appears to violate every principle of general strategy and local tactics. It would seem that in selecting their site for the *νῆσος*, Vischer and Leake must have been regarding the town of Platæa as the Greek base; to that indeed the Greeks would be drawing nearer, though the short stretch of flat country between was far more dangerous in the face of such cavalry as that of Mardonius than the longer stretch of a rougher character that intervened while they were in their former position. But their true base was the passes of Mount Cithæron where their convoys were shut up; and from this base they would be separating themselves. As viewed from Platæa Leake's *νῆσος* has no local features at all that could suggest it to the Greeks as a defence against cavalry; and a retirement to this spot would have been a spirited advance from the frying-pan to the fire, from hunger to famine.

On the other hand Mr. Grundy's *νῆσος* is a conspicuous and rugged piece of ground with a high mound rising upon it likely to make it a landmark with a special name; a perfect defence against cavalry; and tactically exactly where it was wanted, being connected with Cithæron

* John Murray, London.

† Mr. Grundy calls him Dr. Merethides in error.

and covering the mouths of two of the passes, of which one was the pass to Megara, the shortest route to their next lines of defence on the Isthmus of Corinth.

2. The one difficulty in the reconciliation of Mr. Grundy's *νῆσος* with Herodotus, is its distance from the Asopus, which is stated by Herodotus to have been ten stades, whereas the main or Thespian Asopus is nearer thirty than ten. Leake's *νῆσος* is nearer, but even this is about fifteen stades from the main stream. Mr. Grundy explains this by supposing that Herodotus is using the name Asopus in error for the first tributary of the Asopus (marked A1 in his map), a stream which is in sight from the town of Platæa, while the main Asopus is not in sight except when in flood. All this is the case ; but such a traveller as Herodotus, whose headquarters were probably for many years at Athens, and whose route for his, no doubt, numerous journeys from Athens to Northern Greece would lie through Thebes, must surely have travelled not only by the direct Dryoscephalæ route, but also by the Platæa-Thebes road. In that case he must have crossed the Thespian Asopus above its junction with A1, and must have known of its existence.

This does not, however, seem a fatal or even an important objection. All the brooks cannot have names, and what more natural than to use the same name both of the main river and of its first tributary when both are mere brooks? This could be paralleled a hundred times over. Herodotus may, therefore, not in error but on purpose, be calling A1 the Asopus.

But for my own part I should be inclined to extend this principle further and understand the Greek text a little differently. Herodotus in the passage from ix. 50, quoted at length by Mr. Grundy on page 23, uses these words in his location of the *νῆσος*: *ἡ δέ ἐστι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης της Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα.* Surely the absence of *τε* after *Ἀσωποῦ* suggests (though of course it does not render such an interpretation necessary) that Herodotus is by a kind of hendiadys quite in his manner speaking of the Asopus and the spring of Gargaphia as the same place ; and says: "The Asopus and its spring Gargaphia," *i.e.*, the spring Gargaphia which belongs to the Asopus. The streams around the *νῆσος* belonged to the Oeroe.

In any case the passage forms no objection to Mr. Grundy's identification of the *νῆσος*.

3. Mr. Grundy doubtless rightly agrees with Leake in removing Gargaphia from its traditional site at Apotripi to the group of springs about 1,100 yards E.S.E. To this an objection presented itself on the spot, which he has since then to some extent removed in conversation. Herodotus says that the whole army (when in its second position) was prevented by the attacks of the cavalry from watering at the Asopus and was compelled to water at Gargaphia. Now if the left was beyond the Platæa-Thebes road and was resting on the main Asopus it would appear that to reach Gargaphia it would have to pass Apotripi, which must, therefore, have been available. But Mr. Grundy considers that at this time the Greek army was in his *third phase* of the second position and had withdrawn from the whole plain, including the part beyond the Platæa-Thebes road, to the slopes of the Asopus ridge; so that, though it was lying on the ridge close in front of Apotripi the Persian cavalry occupying the plain in its rear prevented it from watering there. This explanation seems certainly possible, and receives countenance from the fact that the Persian cavalry did succeed in choking up Gargaphia, a point they could not well have reached by any other route than the very gently sloping valley which leads from Apotripi to Gargaphia. They therefore must at least temporarily have been in possession of this whole valley and have held the entire ground in rear of the Greek army. But it is at least remarkable that no mention whatever is made by Herodotus of so important a spring as Apotripi, which certainly at the time I saw it was flowing stronger and with much better water than Gargaphia; and I am not quite clear in my own mind that Herodotus knew the details of the ground at this point and was aware that there were *two* large springs. If he was not, the Greeks may have been watering at both.

At any rate we get a very vivid notion of the straits to which the Greek army were reduced when we realise that the Persian cavalry were riding at will *close along the whole rear of their line from left to right*, and choking the spring even at the extreme right; while they were also holding the mouths of the passes of Cithæron, one and a half miles in the rear, so that the convoys could not debouch into the plain. Can it be supposed that any general (even Cæsar, the most audacious

general in history) would under these circumstances have contemplated such a movement into the plain as Leake's theory of the *νῆσος* implies? And Pausanias certainly was not a Cæsar in audacity.

4. But leaving local details, I cannot but think that on the point of general strategy Mr. Grundy is mistaken. He says, on p. 22, "May it not have been the intention of Pausanias to strike a blow at Thebes itself, the base of the Persian operations? Surely the Greeks were on the offensive, as is proved by the very fact of their moving into Bœotia after Mardonius' retirement from Attica." Now, in regard to this statement, I contend—i. That Mr. Grundy is making an anachronism, and transferring Athenian strategy to the period of Spartan command; ii. That the offensive operation of an attack on Thebes would have been not merely mistaken but absolutely ruinous.

i. (a.) The strategy at Platæa was a mere repetition of that of the previous year. On the approach of Xerxes in B.C. 480, the Greeks had settled upon two lines of defence, viz., Tempe, and behind that, Thermopylæ. Tempe proved untenable, as the route by Gonnus, equally short and actually adopted by Xerxes, would take the defenders in rear. Thessaly had to be sacrificed, and thereby fell into the hands of the Persians, to whom the Thessalians became very useful allies, and so Thermopylæ was adopted; and Leonidas fought a defensive battle at the most forward available point. Similarly they would now save Megara for Greece by adopting the line of Cithæron; and if Mardonius attempted to turn them by way of Attica, they had a shorter line than he had to retire on their next position.

(b.) Again, there are two considerations that make it appear probable that not only Pausanias, but no other Spartan general in history, with the possible exception of Brasidas, could have so shaken himself free of Spartan methods and prejudices as to devise such a scheme as is here attributed to Pausanias. The Spartans were notoriously weak at sieges, and after the victory at Platæa itself they were baffled by the Persians' wooden camp till the Athenians arrived and took it. And if we are to transfer to the times of the Persian Wars the account which Xenophon* (Hellen. vi. iv. 11) gives of the system on which the

* Xen. Hellen. vi., iv., 11. *Τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν, ἔτρεφον μὲν γάρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἤκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος, λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα ὁπυῖα δοθείη αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατ-*

Spartan cavalry was organized at the time of the Theban Wars, and the estimation in which it was held (and in so stereotyped a state as Sparta there is every reason to suppose it had not changed much), the Spartan cavalry was absolutely beneath contempt. Yet an attack on Thebes must rely for its success mainly on siege-warfare and cavalry. Pausanias, it is true, had plenty of other allies; but national prejudice would be very strong with him against originating a scheme that depended on Sparta's weakest points.

(c.) Moreover, a comparison of Athenian and Spartan methods throughout this war will bring into prominence the essential difference between the two, the enterprise of the one and the striking timidity of the other. In B.C. 500 the Spartans refused help to the Ionians in their revolt; the Athenians gave it and were present at the burning of Sardis, perhaps the boldest offensive operation of the whole war. To Marathon the Spartans sent little help and arrived too late; the Athenians fought an offensive battle and won. At Artemisium the Spartan generalship was not merely defensive, but pusillanimous. Eurybiades actually retreated once to Chalcis, leaving Xerxes at liberty to land troops in rear of Thermopylæ; and he contemplated it a second time. It was Themistocles, the Athenian, to whom the Eubœans had recourse as the only man likely to save them. Themistocles was mean enough to take bribes from them for his services, but it was he who brought Eurybiades up to the scratch.

This he did again at Salamis, where it was only by means of a feignedly treasonable message that Xerxes was tempted to force Eurybiades and the Greeks into the bold tactics wherein Themistocles saw the only hope of Greece lay.

In the battle of Salamis itself it was Aristides who carried Athenian hoplites over to Psyttalea, and annihilated the picked Persian troops which had been landed there. Plutarch (*Arist.* ix.)* puts this early enough in the action to have been of service in saving the Greeks and destroying the Persians, who were driven ashore there; Herodotus

εὑρετο, τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. In spite of the words κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, I cannot recall any noteworthy deed of the Spartan cavalry at *any* time.

* Plutarch, *Aristides* ix. (after describing the capture) τὴν δὲ νησῖδα τοῖς ὅπλοις πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστήσας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν.

(viii. 95)* merely places it "during the confusion of the battle"; but at any rate it was a very bold offensive movement which immensely struck the Greeks at the time—for every account mentions it—and it was performed by the Athenians.

When Mardonius' mission to tempt the Athenians to his side in 479 failed, the Spartans sent no help to prevent Attica being again invaded; and it was only under threats that they came to Platæa.

In the operations at Platæa we have three examples of the unenterprising character of Pausanias himself. In the first position it was the Athenians, not the Spartans, who volunteered to save the Megarians when harassed by the Persian cavalry, and who killed Masistius; it was the left wing of the army, where the Athenians stood, that was the post of danger in the second position; and, according to Herodotus, when the right seemed likely to become the post of danger, Pausanias changed places with the Athenians, the reason given being that the Athenians had had experience at Marathon of the Persian mode of fighting—want of enterprise pure and simple. I do not, however, wish to lay any stress on this event, which is so astounding that it is almost impossible to believe it was anything but some manœuvre misunderstood by Herodotus' informant; and if Amompharetus resisted the movement to the Island as running away from the foreigner, what would he have said with regard to resigning the post of honour on such grounds? Thirdly, after the Persians were routed and their camp taken, Pausanias refused the request of the Mantineans to be allowed to pursue Artabazus. Such was Spartan command on land.

But while this was going on in Bœotia, Athenian tactics were beginning to prevail at sea, where they had preponderating numbers. The fleet under Leotychidas had remained at Delos, where it was useless, till at last the Samians invited and, with difficulty, persuaded it to move to Samos. When the Greek fleet reached Samos the Persians, conscious of their inferiority by sea, retired to the mainland, and drew their fleet ashore under the protection of the land army at Mycale. A second discussion now arose as to whether the Greek fleet should not sail back again to Delos, or to the Hellespont; but bolder counsels prevailed, and they followed the Persians to the mainland and disembarked. In the battle that ensued, the Athenians, who had easier

* Herod. viii. 95, *ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ.*

ground to cross, got to work so zealously that the battle was over and the camp taken before the Spartans came up. Ionia now revolted; and when the fleet returned to Samos a further remarkable discussion arose (Herodotus ix. 106),* wherein the Spartans were for removing the Ionians to Greece, because they thought it impossible to protect them in Asia; but the Athenians would not hear of such timidity. With the help of this passage we may fairly read between the lines and conclude whose was the hesitation first to move from Delos, and then to attack at Mycale; and whose influence it was that brought these events about.

After this the fleet sails to the Hellespont, and finds the bridge broken down; and as by this event the defence of Greece against Persia was complete, Leotychidas, with the Peloponnesians, at once sailed home, while Xanthippus and the Athenians stayed and carried on offensive operations against Sestus.

Finally, under the Athenian hegemony the war became wholly offensive, and the Persians were attacked as far as Lycia, Cyprus, and Egypt; while the Lacedæmonians retired altogether from the contest.

Indeed, in the whole war it would be difficult, in spite of their dogged courage and tenacity at Thermopylæ and Platæa, to find a single instance in which the Spartans showed even decent enterprise. Are we to suppose that Pausanias' strategy at Platæa was the one exception? and if it be objected that Plutarch's account implies that Aristides had much more to do with the strategy there than appears in Herodotus, yet both Plutarch's authority is slight, and it was not likely that Pausanias would have given way to Aristides, on a cardinal point, where the Spartan numbers preponderated to the extent of 45,000 as against 8,000 Athenians.

ii. But though disagreeing as to the nature of their plan, I certainly hold with Mr. Grundy that the Greek generals at Platæa were not devoid of military skill.

Defensive strategy on Pausanias' part appears to me to have been eminently suitable to the circumstances, while an attack on Thebes would have been foolhardy in the extreme. The Greeks were fighting in the most forward position available, in front of the three passes of Mount Cithæron; their present position covered Megara and

* Herod. ix. 106, ἀπικόμενοι . . . . Πελοποννήσιοι.

its plain. Behind them there lay two other positions ready fortified, viz., (1) the point a mile or two behind Megara, where Mount Geranea stretches all across the isthmus, and the enemy must either traverse the high and difficult pass between its summits or the road along the face of the Scironian Cliffs overhanging the Saronic Gulf, which road had been blocked up (Herod. viii. 71);* and (2) the position four miles east of Corinth, where the isthmus narrows to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in breadth, and their wall, begun the year before, had just been completed (Herod. viii. 71, ix. 8).† Being masters of the sea they were absolutely secure in either of these positions, but meanwhile they had better strike a blow for Megara. They were risking nothing; the enemy's cavalry could not pursue them through the mountains in case of defeat; and if Mardonius' tried to turn them by way of Phyle or Decelea, they held a much shorter line than he to their next position.

Again, as they were fighting in their own country time was on the side of the Greeks; their forces were daily increasing ‡ (Herod. ix. 41), Mardonius' would naturally tend to diminish. Already some of the Medizing Greeks were cold § (Herod. ix. 17, 44-5, 67), and daily they must find the invader more of a burden.

But the chief objection to offensive warfare was that the advance to Thebes must be made over eight miles of excellent cavalry ground. Not only was the Persian cavalry their strongest arm, but they had in addition the cavalry of Thessaly and Bœotia, the two best in Greece. The Greeks would have to meet the enemy under every possible disadvantage, viz., to attack a great walled town, defended by an enemy three times their number, and provided with a splendid cavalry with which they could not hope to cope. To get provisions at all they must send huge escorts for their convoys at fearful risks across this

* Herod. viii. 71. *ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν μετὰ τοῦτο ὡς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος.* This was before the battle of Salamis.

† Herod. viii. 71, above; also ix. 8. *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ.* This was while Mardonius was in Attica in 479.

‡ Herod. ix. 41, *ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγονεσαν κ.τ.λ. Ibid. μήτε περιυρᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων.*

§ Herod. ix. 17, *μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες* down to *ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης*. Also the nocturnal visit of Alexander of Macedon to the Greek camp, ix. 44-5. Also during the battle of Plataa, Herod. ix. 67, *τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων κ.τ.λ.*

plain. The siege of Thebes would probably take a long time; and when it was captured the enemy had many other towns in Bœotia to fall back upon, and this terrible escort work must still go on.

Surely this was a risk that no general, Spartan or otherwise, could ever have dreamed of running, unless he despised the enemy's horse; and that Pausanias did not do so at the time the scheme must have been devised is proved by the fact that his first position was on the slope of the mountain and not in the plain.

I think, therefore, that on grounds, (1), of the normal strategy in this war, (2), of Spartan character, (3), of sound generalship, the theory of offensive warfare at Platæa must be rejected.

In conclusion I would urge all those who have not yet read Mr. Grundy's pamphlet on Platæa to lose no time in making acquaintance with this admirable work. The maps of the ground in the present histories are extremely faulty. For instance, Grote and Oman, and all the current histories of Greece at which I have looked place a *mountain* north of Platæa on the ground marked by Mr. Grundy as "flat plain without determinable slope."

For facility of use Mr. Grundy's book would gain if he had indicated in some way upon his map what he considered the different positions of the armies to be. In ground so complicated I found this very hard to follow.

H. AWDRY.

MARATHON.

Of the four great battles of the Persian Wars, Marathon is the only one in which a visit to the scene suggests no new problem. It is simple to reconstruct Thermopylæ on paper, but a survey of the spot disconcerts all one's calculations, owing to the changes wrought by the advance of the land upon the sea. The view of the straits of Salamis insists upon questions of orientation which hardly arise in studying the descriptions of Æschylus and Herodotus. At Platæa one finds oneself in the presence of a complicated problem, amid a multitude of streams and undulations of the ground on the lower slopes of Cithæron, and without the temples mentioned by Herodotus to guide one. But at Marathon the difficulties connected with the action are difficulties which arise in reading Herodotus in our study, and are not either solved or increased by walking over the plain. Those who believe in the presence of that shadowy body of Persian cavalry, which is introduced by the historian for the purpose of doing nothing, may illustrate its inaction by the swampy ground along the shore. On the other hand, Marathon has a conspicuous advantage above the three later battle-scenes. The spot where the combat raged most hotly is marked by the mound which covered the bodies of the Athenians. We have nothing corresponding to this at Thermopylæ, at Salamis, or at Platæa. The visitor to Thermopylæ cannot do more than conjecture the place where Leonidas and his men made their last stand; the visitor to Marathon knows with perfect assurance that his feet are on the spot where the heroes of the battle fought and fell. At Chæronea we have more; we have the huge fragments of the lion which marked the tomb of the Sacred Lochos. At Marathon, the lion is gone, as at Thermopylæ; but the tomb remains, a precious memorial of the most illustrious episode in Greek history. It was a great shock to find this monument of the Marathonomachoi in the process of dissolution, owing to the shameful neglect of the Greek authorities. At first I thought that, having been excavated (in 1890), and told what it had to tell, it no longer appealed to the curiosity of archæologists; and that the appeal which it makes to the historical imagination was not enough to secure it active protection. But, when Mr. Bosanquet and I

visited Orchomenos some weeks later, we discovered that even art and archæology do not protect their own. We found with dismay the beautiful ceiling of the prehistoric sepulchre of the Orceomenian princes lying in a rubbish heap, exposed to the insolence of the weather and the indecencies of the people of Skripù. On seeing such distressing and disgraceful neglect in the case of a famous and unique work of art, one ceases to wonder at indifference to the destruction of a mound of earth, whose importance may be said to be only sentimental—merely marking the spot where, two thousand four hundred years ago, the Athenians beat back the oriental invader from the shores of Europe. Yet it seems a pity that, having lasted so long, it should be allowed now, at a time when the general interest of educated Europe in Hellenic history is more active than ever, to disappear.

J. B. BURY.

THE LATEST DISCOVERIES AT HISSARLIK.

THE Annual *Inselreise* of the German Archæological Institute at Athens was this year extended to the coast of Asia Minor, so as to include Assos and the Troad. For the first time Dr. Dörpfeld had an opportunity of expounding to an audience of his colleagues the remarkable discoveries made during his two last seasons at Hissarlik.

The object of the Island Tour is to visit in the course of a few days a number of sites on the Greek coast or islands, which are otherwise difficult of access—Rhamnus, Eretria, Oropos, Delos, and others. The hospitality of the institute finds room on board its steamer for scholars and travellers from all parts of Europe. The party of fifty on board the Ἐλπίς spoke nine or ten different languages, and included representatives from the four Athenian Schools of Archæology, architects, artists, schoolmasters, and numerous professors. This classical company arrived off the Troad on May the 13th, disembarked at Besika Bay, after satisfying the customs officials at Tenedos, and rode north-east to Hissarlik. The way leads through pleasant wooded country like an English park, oak-wood and grass mixed with tracts of corn and fruit-trees. It crosses three considerable streams—first, an artificial channel, which conveys to the sea the water of the "Forty Eyes" spring at Bunarbashi; second, the narrow modern bed of the Mendera or Scamander; third, the wider ancient bed, still well filled with water, which passes a few hundred yards west of Hissarlik, and is presently joined from the east by the Dumbrek-su, which may well be the Simoeis. Of late years, by a more peaceful invasion, the plain has passed into the hands of Greek husbandmen; and it was pleasant as the cavalcade defiled through the villages to get the familiar Greek "Welcome."

After two hours of slow riding, the site of the later Ilion became visible as a long, low plateau above the intervening woods. From its northern extremity rises a round mass, once a green hill, now scarred by repeated excavation into a jagged labyrinth of trenches, pits, and walls. The upper level, rather more than 100 feet above the plain, can be made out here and there where a pillar of soil, sometimes surmounted by a tree, has been spared by the diggings that have brought to light successive layers of

temples and houses, walls and huts, to a depth of 50 feet below. Without the clear exposition of Dr. Dörpfeld it would be impossible for any one in the compass of a few hours to master the complicated story which these *strata* have to tell; but even an inexperienced eye would soon detect three great systems of masonry, which differ widely both in appearance and in position. These are the remains of the three most important settlements on the site, numbered II., VI., and IX. The following table gives the *strata* as they have been determined by the labours of Dr. Schliemann and his more scientific successor, Dr. Dörpfeld:—

I.—Lowest settlement, very early. Walls of small stones and clay. Objects found primitive. Perhaps 3000—2560 B.C.

II.—PREHISTORIC FORTRESS, with strong ramparts and large dwelling-houses of sun-dried bricks. Thrice destroyed and rebuilt. Monochrome pottery. Many objects of bronze, silver, and gold. Perhaps 2500—2000 B.C.

This was Schliemann's "Homeric Troy."

III., IV., V.—Three prehistoric settlements, villages rather than towns, built on the ruins of Schliemann's Troy. Dwelling-houses of small stones and sun-dried bricks. Similar pottery. Perhaps 2000—1500 B.C.

VI.—"MYCENÆAN" FORTRESS. Huge ramparts, towers, and houses of well-wrought stones. Developed monochrome pottery and imported "Mycenæan" vases. Perhaps 1500—1000 B.C.

Believed by Dr. Dörpfeld to be the Pergamos of Homer's Troy.

VII., VIII.—Greek settlements, villages rather than towns. Two distinct layers of simple stone houses above the ruins of the sixth *stratum*. Local monochrome ware, and almost all known kinds of Greek pottery. Roughly 1000 B.C.—birth of Christ.

IX.—ACROPOLIS OF THE ROMAN TOWN OF ILIUM, with a celebrated temple of Athena and splendid marble buildings. Roman pottery and inscriptions. Birth of Christ—500 A.D.*

* Dr. Dörpfeld points out that for the older layers the dates given are only approximate. Only their relative age can be determined; their absolute age is quite uncertain. In the case even of the later layers round numbers have been chosen in order to emphasise the uncertainty of the dates assigned. See his *Troja*, 1893, p. 80.

Of these the second, sixth, and ninth are by far the most distinct and important. The sixth, which certainly has the best claim of all the successive settlements at Hissarlik to represent Homer's Troy, was practically unknown to Schliemann. Its discovery is foreshadowed in the report (*see* Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, English edition, p. 330 and 349) of his last season's work, but he did not live to follow up the clue. It was left for Dr. Dörpfeld to do so, in 1893 with funds supplied by Madame Schliemann, in 1894 with the help of grants from the German Archæological Institute and from the Imperial *Dispositionsfonds*. When one first sees the enormous walls of this layer, still over 20 feet high and 16 feet thick, with their gates and towers and store-rooms at regular intervals, one asks how it was possible for Schliemann to dig here year after year without striking on some part of them. The reason becomes clear enough when the history and relationship of the *strata* are understood.

The nucleus of the mound at Hissarlik is a knob of rock rising 54 feet above the plain and some 12 feet above the rock of the larger plateau to which it is attached on the south and south-east. That slight difference of level was enough to mark it out as the natural stronghold of the plateau, just as the plateau itself was always the dwelling-place for the tillers of the rich but low-lying plain. It became the acropolis of a long series of villages and towns, beginning with the mud huts of prehistoric man and ending with the stately temple-buildings of the Roman Ilion. A section (such as that given on page 35 of *Troja*, 1893) shows that the first primitive village lay nearly on the rock. Horizontally above it rose the second city—Schliemann's "Homeric Troy"—at first encircling only the top of the rock, but in the course of generations pushing its walls farther and farther out This and the three following settlements (III.—V.) were burned and rebuilt again and again, and the accumulating *débris* of stones and sun-dried bricks very greatly increased the height and area of the mound. What had been a table-topped rocky spur was now a cone of made soil rising some 95 feet above the plain. Then came the more civilised builders of the sixth, the newly-discovered city, who, wishing to enclose the largest possible area, set their girdling wall low down on the slopes of the cone and laid out their town not on a horizontal plane, like their predecessors, but in con-

centric terraces mounting towards the highest point. So great had been the accumulation of fresh soil over and outside the old defences that this "Mycenæan" town enclosed an area two and a half times as large as "Schliemann's" Troy. In due course the "Mycenæan" city was sacked and burned. It was greater and stronger than any that went before, and great must have been its fall. That, it is suggested, was the siege of which tradition still told, and those the walls that may still have been visible when the poet of the Iliad wrote.

Above the ruins of the sixth city rose layers VII. and VIII., sloping from all sides up the shoulders of the hill and over the Mycenæan terraces, much as the village of Kastri formed a continuous slope above the terraces at Delphi. The latter of these was the Κωμόπολις of Strabo that clustered round a temple of Athene. Lastly, we have layer IX., the Hellenistic temple, and the stately square bordered by colonnades with sides each about 100 yards long, which surrounded it in Roman days. It was necessary to provide a level platform large enough for this quadrangle. This might have been done in two ways—by building up soil behind supporting walls to the level of the hill-top, as was done to prepare a platform for the Parthenon at Athens, or by cutting away the top of the cone, as was actually done at Hissarlik. And here is the explanation of Dr. Schliemann's ill-success. The Roman builders levelled so boldly as to obliterate all traces of Strata VI.—VIII. all over the middle of the hill-top. Dr. Schliemann dug down through the Roman precinct and came almost at once upon prehistoric remains. He found the walls of the second city and followed their course; and as the walls of the sixth city formed a ring considerably outside the smaller *enceinte* of the second, it was not until his last season, when he dug outside the south-western gate of the second city, in the hope of finding the royal tombs, that he stumbled upon unmistakable traces of the Mycenæan stratum. At Hissarlik, as everywhere, he succeeded in the character in which he will long be remembered by Greek and Turk, as the finder of buried gold. But this, the favourite site to which he returned season after season, withheld from him its most precious and least-suspected secret—the walls and towers of the Mycenæan fortress—until a few months before his death in 1890.

The excavations were not renewed until 1893. A part of the outer

wall of the sixth layer was laid bare and astonished the explorers, accustomed to the rudely-built ramparts of small stones which surround the Second City, by, its huge blocks smoothly dressed and carefully jointed. It was found to be 16 feet thick, and to present certain peculiarities, which enabled houses and terrace-walls within the circuit to be recognised as belonging to the same period. The most remarkable discovery was the great north-east tower, the lower part of which remains in good preservation to a height of 26 feet. It projects about 25 feet from the wall, and has a front nearly 60 feet wide. The results of this campaign have been fully described in Dr. Dörpfeld's *Troja*, 1893. In the following year it was determined to trace the whole circuit of the wall. The result was surprising; on the north and north-west sides the wall proved to have been wholly destroyed; but from the north-east tower to the south-west face a continuous stretch of 300 mètres was cleared. The gap is estimated at 200 mètres, and may be accounted for by Strabo's * statement that Archaianax built the walls of Sigeion with the stones of Troy. The part which has disappeared is that which faced towards Sigeion, distant five or six miles to the north-west, and also just that which must have remained visible, having a high and steep bank falling away from its foot, long after the accumulation of rubbish had hidden the rest of the walls. That this latter process took place early is proved by the comparative absence of weathering on their surface.

The description of the growth of the hill, which has already been given, will explain some characteristics of their fortifications. Built for the greater part of their course on the *talus* of rubbish which had formed outside the rock, they ran no little risk of settling. Exceptional measures were taken to insure stability. First came a base 16 feet thick and 20 feet high, with a profile-slope, or "batter," of as much as 3 in 10. In places this lower wall slopes so much that one can scramble up it, but further progress would be stopped by the vertical wall, 7 or 8 feet thick and of unknown height, which rose above it, and can still be recognised here and there. These enormous structures contributed not a little to the size and strength of the hill. They were retaining-walls as well as ramparts, binding the accumulated rubbish of ages into a solid whole. Behind them the town rose in terraces

* Strabo, xiii. 599.

propped by walls of similar masonry to its highest point, which was, if anything, higher than the ground-level of the later Roman precinct. Those Roman colonnades could never have been built had not the ground beneath them been thus hooped and tied together. Again and again, in seeking for a sure foundation along the circumference of the hill, the Roman architect has sunk his piers of masonry some 20 feet, until they rested on the Mycenæan ramparts.

Another remarkable characteristic of these walls is the way in which the stones are laid as "headers," not "stretchers," that is to say, their length is turned into the wall, and only the small end shows on the face; an arrangement which in the absence of clamps and mortar was intended to increase the difficulty of extracting single stones. Still more curious is the plan by which the builders enabled their wall to adhere to the contours of the hill, and yet avoided the difficult task of constructing it on a continuous curve. They gave it a polygonal course, and, for some reason difficult to understand, arranged a slight "break" or set-back at each angle. Thus in walking round the hill with the sun one finds that once in every 10 or 15 yards the face of the wall is set back a few inches and resumes its course at a slightly different angle. The transition from one section of straight wall to the next is generally effected by a single stone. The same treatment of the angles appears at Gha, the Mycenæan fortress on Lake Copais, which has lately been investigated by Messrs. de Ridder and Noack, but there the set-back is much greater. What we have at Troy is plainly a reminiscence of an older plan, which may have been adopted with a view to flanking each strip of straight wall, or because it was recognised that the angles are the weakest points, and that a thickening of the wall at the angle serves the same purpose as a buttress. In any case, the modified arrangement found at Hissarlik had ceased to have use or meaning; that it was conventional in the architecture of the time is suggested by its appearing on the inner terrace-walls.

On the south side, where the Acropolis is attached to the lower plateau, the character of the wall changes. Here was solid rock below and only a slight fall in the ground outside; here were the gates, and here attack might be looked for. In consequence the slope of the lower half of the walls is diminished, and the face is so smooth and well-jointed as to merit comparison with good Greek work. The stones used are between 4 and 5 feet long.

The main gateway stands much in the same position as the approaches to the earlier fortress of the Second City; and to the Roman temple precinct. Another farther west was found built up. To the east a narrower entrance is defended by a curving traverse or spur attached to the wall on the left side of the gateway, so as to form a narrow passage, in which an assailant was exposed to a cross fire.

Before these walls towers have been added, apparently one or two generations later, for the ground-level outside can be shown to have risen in the interval. These towers are built of the same large carefully dressed stones as the south-eastern, apparently the latest part of the walls; they show the same "batter" on their outer and side profiles. One large tower defended the main gate; a second contained stores of lime in big *pithoi*, jars like those in which Morgiana hid the Forty Thieves; a third was the great north-east tower already described. Its interior was cleared in the second season, and it proved to have been built out to shelter a well or cistern, which is 14 feet square at its mouth and descended 26 feet into the solid rock. Other wells have been found, but this was the chief source of water-supply. A postern door in the side of this tower enabled people living outside the walls to enter the well-house and draw water without going round by the gate. (This would point to the existence of a lower town on the large plateau, which seems likely *à priori*, on the analogy of Mycenæ, Athens, and Orchomenos, but has yet to be proved.) In time of siege this postern would be blocked up, and in this state it was found. A flight of steps inserted against the north-west side of this tower belong to the Greek period.

The other buildings of the Mycenæan city which survive are, first, a series of store-chambers lined with πίθοι, built, perhaps at the same date as the towers, in what was originally a belt of vacant space running inside the walls. Some of the jars, when unearthed, were found still full of pease or barley. Secondly, several dwelling-houses on the first terrace. These have the simple "μέγαρον" plan, which survived in later temples. No walls of this *stratum* survive more than 40 mètres inwards from the wall.

These buildings can be approximately dated by the presence of imported Mycenæan pottery mixed with the lustrous grey earthenware to which Schliemann formerly gave the odd name of *Lydian*. It must

be remembered that this depends, not on the possibly accidental juxtaposition of a few fragments with pieces of wall, but on careful observations carried on during three seasons; first in 1890, when the association of Mycenæan ware with walls of large dressed stone gave the first clue to the sixth layer, and again during the excavations of 1893 and 1894, which was carried out with exceptional care and skill by a number of trained observers. The following table shows in round numbers how the dimensions of the Acropolis at Hissarlik compare with those of other early fortresses :—

	Circumference.	Area.
(1) Hissarlik, Layer II.	350 m.	8,000 sq. m.
(2) Hissarlik, Layer VI.	500 ,,	20,000 ,,
(3) Tiryns	700 ,,	20,000 ,,
(4) Acropolis of Athens (without Pelasgikon)	700 ,,	25,000 ,,
(5) Mycenæ	900 ,,	30,000 ,,

It remains to quote Dr. Dörpfeld's conclusions.* They are:—

(1) That the sixth layer represents a great fortress with many large buildings inside and an exceptionally strong enclosing wall:

(2.) That this city flourished in the Mycenæ period, and, consequently, has the best claim to be the Pergamos of Ilion, sung by Homer:

(3.) That the much older fortress of the second layer existed in pre-Mycenæan times, and was several times destroyed long before the time of the Trojan war.

"Non semel Ilios
Vexata."

From the earliest times, lying as it did in the path of coasting ships, this fertile plain must have offered an irresistible temptation to Greeks from the more barren western mainlands and islands. Whether or no the poet of the Iliad knew Hissarlik, his description of Ilion is not so unlike as it once seemed. The traveller of to-day sees the "high tower" and the "polished walls" from far off, and knows that the ground-level of the upper terraces was probably quite 100 feet above the plain. One may fairly suppose that in the epic, where everything was drawn on a heroic scale, the size and height of the fortress was proportioned to the strength and numbers of the combatants. Apart from

* *Troja*, 1893, p. 12. *Cf. Athenische Mittheilungen*, 1895, p. 380 ff., plate ix.

this exaggeration, a belt of walls and towers 40 feet high, with a steep descent of 40 feet more to a quite level plain, makes a very impressive fortress. It may not be ὀφρυόεσσα nor αἰπεινή to our eyes, but those who have camped on the hill-top say that it is of all places ἠνεμόεσσα. And do we not hear more of the strength and beauty of the wall that was built εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλὸν ἵν' ἄρρηκτος πόλις εἴη than of natural precipices that guarded the city?

Travellers will, continue no doubt, to join with their visit to Hissarlik a journey to the more romantic scenery of the Balidagh. But the landscape seen from Hissarlik is not without its charm; one must stand on the hill to realise how fitting a stage it makes for the drama of the Iliad. By far its most striking features are the two mountain ranges from which Zeus and Poseidon watched the battles in the plain, to the south-east the peaks and snowy slopes of Ida, to the north-west Phengari, the great mountain of Samothrace, towering in the clouds above the lower hills of Imbros. To the west Tenedos is conspicuous above the oak groves, and from the foot of the hill to the Hellespont stretches a grassy plain, broken only by two slight undulations. Along the right bank of the Mendera, fringed as of old with tamarisks, are hundreds of grazing horses, watched by a single mounted herdsman, the only human being in sight. On the other side is the stony plateau of the Roman Ilium; a great scar in its rim represents the Roman theatre. Under foot are the nine layers of the Acropolis. It is a scene that might provoke reflections like those which Sulpicius (Cic. ad Fam. iv. 5)* records for the benefit of Cicero: "Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare—Hem! nos homunculi indignamur si quis nostrûm interiit aut occisus est? Quorum vita brevior esse, debet, cum uno loco tot oppidûm cadavera projecta jaceant."

R. CARR BOSANQUET.

* *Cic. ad Fam.* iv. 5.

THE TWO TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS.

PLATE III. is intended to show the present appearance of the two temples at Rhamnus, after their complete excavation by the Greek Archaeological Society. The plans and architectural details of the temples were published in the *Antiquities of Attica* (plates to chapters vi. and vii.) by the Society of Dilettanti; but the excavations made by their expedition must have been of a very slight nature, as they did not discover the sculptures now placed in the National Museum at Athens, and published in the Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1891, Plates IV., IX. The temples being so near together, the angle between their axes is plainly visible, and thus they offer the clearest example of the varying orientation to which Mr. Penrose has devoted such an interesting study.

ERNEST GARDNER.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Burlington House, Piccadilly.
BRASENOSE COLLEGE, Oxford.
CHRIST CHURCH, Oxford.
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Oxford.
KING'S COLLEGE, Cambridge.
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, Oxford.
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Buxton, A. F., Esq., 50, Cornhill, E.C.
Buxton, F. W., Esq., 62, Threadneedle Street, E.C.

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Lawson, Sir E., Bart., *Daily Telegraph*, Fleet Street, E.C.
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Smith, Arthur H., Esq., British Museum, W.C.

Smith, Cecil H., Esq., LL.D., British Museum, W.C.
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Taylor, The Rev. Dr., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.
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Tuckett, F. F., Esq., Frenchay, Bristol.
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Turner, Mrs., Santa Lucia, Naples.

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Warren, T. H., Esq.. President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Warr, G. C., Esq., King's College, Strand, W.C.
Warre, The Rev. E., Eton College, Windsor.
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Wedgewood, G. Esq., Idle Rocks, Stone, Staff.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wickham, The Rev. E. C., Wellington College.
Wilson, R. D., Esq., 38, Upper Brook Street, W.
Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington Street, S.W.

Yule, Miss A., Chateau Mallet, St. Etienne au Mont, Pas de Calais, France.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1895.

F. C. PENROSE, F.R.S., 1886—7.

ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.

LIST OF STUDENTS.

1886—95.

Ernest A. Gardner,	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Admitted 1886—87. Director of the School, 1887—1895.
David G. Hogarth,	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Now on the Staff of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Rupert Clarke,	Exeter College, Oxford. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard,	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James,	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from University.
R. Elsey Smith,	Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects. Architect to excavations at Paphos, 1887—88.
Robert Weir Schultz,	Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90, 1890—91. Worked on Greek mouldings and on Byzantine architecture. Also made the architectural report on the excavations at Megalopolis.
Sidney H. Barnsley,	Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91. Worked on Greek mouldings and Byzantine architecture.
J. A. R. Munro,	Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs,	Pembroke College, Oxford; Craven University Fellow. Now Professor of Classics in the University of Auckland. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
James G. Frazer,	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.

William Loring, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Office. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, given by the Managing Committee, 1889—90. Re-admitted, as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked at topography.

W. J. Woodhouse, Queen's College, Oxford. Appointed to Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Oxford Craven Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis, and worked at topography.

G. C. Richards, Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Now Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis.

O. H. Parry, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.

J. R. Stainer, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.

R. A. H. Bickford Smith, Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.

A. G. Bather, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Assistant Master at Winchester. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship given by the Managing Committee, 1892—93 as Prendergast Student, and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student. Undertook sorting and arranging of bronze fragments in the Acropolis Museum, and also assisted in excavations at Megalopolis and Kyparissia, and superintended those at Abae.

E. E. Sikes, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, given by the Managing Committee out of the Newton Testimonial Fund, 1890—91.

J. G. Milne, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Now an Examiner in the Education Office. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, given by the Managing Committee of the Newton Testimonial Fund, 1890—91. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis.

H. Stuart Jones, Balliol College, and afterwards Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Craven University Fellow. Admitted 1890—91, and again in 1892—93. Worked chiefly on Greek vases in the Museums at Athens.

Miss Eugénie Sellers, Admitted 1890—91. Worked at Greek Vases. Translated and edited (1895) the English edition of Furtwängler's "Meisterwerke der Griech. Plastik."

F. B. Baker, Christ's College, Cambridge. Now Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92, with grant from the Craven Fund at Cambridge. Studied the coins in the Museum at Athens.

C. C. Inge, Magdalen College, Oxford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship given by the Managing Committee.

E. F. Benson, Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Wort's Fund at Cambridge, 1892—93 as Cambridge School Student, 1893—94 as Craven Student, and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student. Assisted in excavations at Megalopolis and Aegosthena, worked at the plan of the Asclepieion and at other subjects in Athens, and

after visiting Alexandria in 1894 with a view to excavations, took part in excavations there in 1895 under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth.

J. G. Smith, Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891.

V. W. Yorke, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93, re-admitted 1893—94. Worked at the Niké bastion in Athens, and assisted in excavations at Kyparissia, and later at Abae.

J. L. Myres, Fellow of Magdalen College, now Lecturer of Christchurch, Oxford. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95 as Craven University Fellow. Worked chiefly at prehistoric questions in Athens and afterwards travelled in Greek islands and Asia Minor and Cyprus. In 1895, after further work in Cyprus, he returned to Athens and excavated tumuli near Karâ, subsequently going to Crete with Mr. A. J. Evans.

R. J. G. Mayor, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Examiner in the Education Office. Admitted 1892 — 93. Worked at Museums and sites in Athens, and assisted in excavations at Aegosthena.

R. Carr Bosanquet, Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1894—95. Worked at Museums in Athens, and assisted in excavations at Aegosthena. In 1895 made a careful study of lecythi in Athens, and worked at the subject of Greek athletics. Travelled in Greece and joined the German tour to the Islands, Troy, etc.

J. M. Cheetham, Christchurch, Oxford. Admitted as Oxford Student 1892—93, but after a month's residence was obliged for private reasons to resign the studentship and return to England.

E. R. Bevan, New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94. Worked in Museums at Athens. Re-admitted 1894—95, and took part in the excavations at Alexandria.

A. F. Findlay, Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Worked at N.T. criticism and antiquities, and the modern language: attended the University: made special study of the question of St. Paul and the Areopagus.

T. Duncan, Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Worked at the modern language and at Egyptian antiquities. Afterwards joined Prof. Flinders Petrie in Egypt, and thence proceeded to Palestine.

J. E. Brooks, St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Worked generally at language and antiquities, and travelled in Greece.

H. Awdry, New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Availed himself of a grace term to make a general study of antiquities with a view to school work; also made special studies of military topography, and travelled in Greece.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archæology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archæology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed and maintained of archæological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.
(3) Corporate bodies subscribing £50 at one time or £5 annually.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in July of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and three members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.
(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.
(3) Nine Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, three shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.
(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Article VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary or Treasurer may, with the approval of two members of the Committee, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

STUDENTS.

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXI. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. No person shall be enrolled as a student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands.

XXII. Students shall have a right to use the library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXIII. So far as the accommodation of the house permits, Students shall be admitted to reside at the school building, paying at a fixed rate for board and lodging. Priority of claim to such accommodation to be determined by the Managing Committee.

XXIV. The Managing Committee may elect as honorary members of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands, or such persons as they may from time to time think desirable.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXV. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVI. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house; but Students of the School shall have a right to the use of the library at all reasonable times.

XXVII. It shall be his duty to guide and assist the studies of Students of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished, in accordance with Rule XX., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June.

XXVIII. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXIX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the library and attend his lectures.

XXX. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of October in each year to the end of the following May, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXI. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

PUBLICATION.

XXXIII. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XXXIV. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XXXV. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XXXVI. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XXXVII. The second claim shall be the salary of the Director, as arranged between him and the Managing Committee.

XXXVIII. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

REGULATIONS FOR THE LIBRARY.

XXXIX. The first Director shall, on commencing residence at Athens, draw up regulations as to the management of the library, its use by Students, and the like, and submit them to the Managing Committee, on whose approval they shall become binding on Director and Students. These regulations may afterwards be modified by the Managing Committee.

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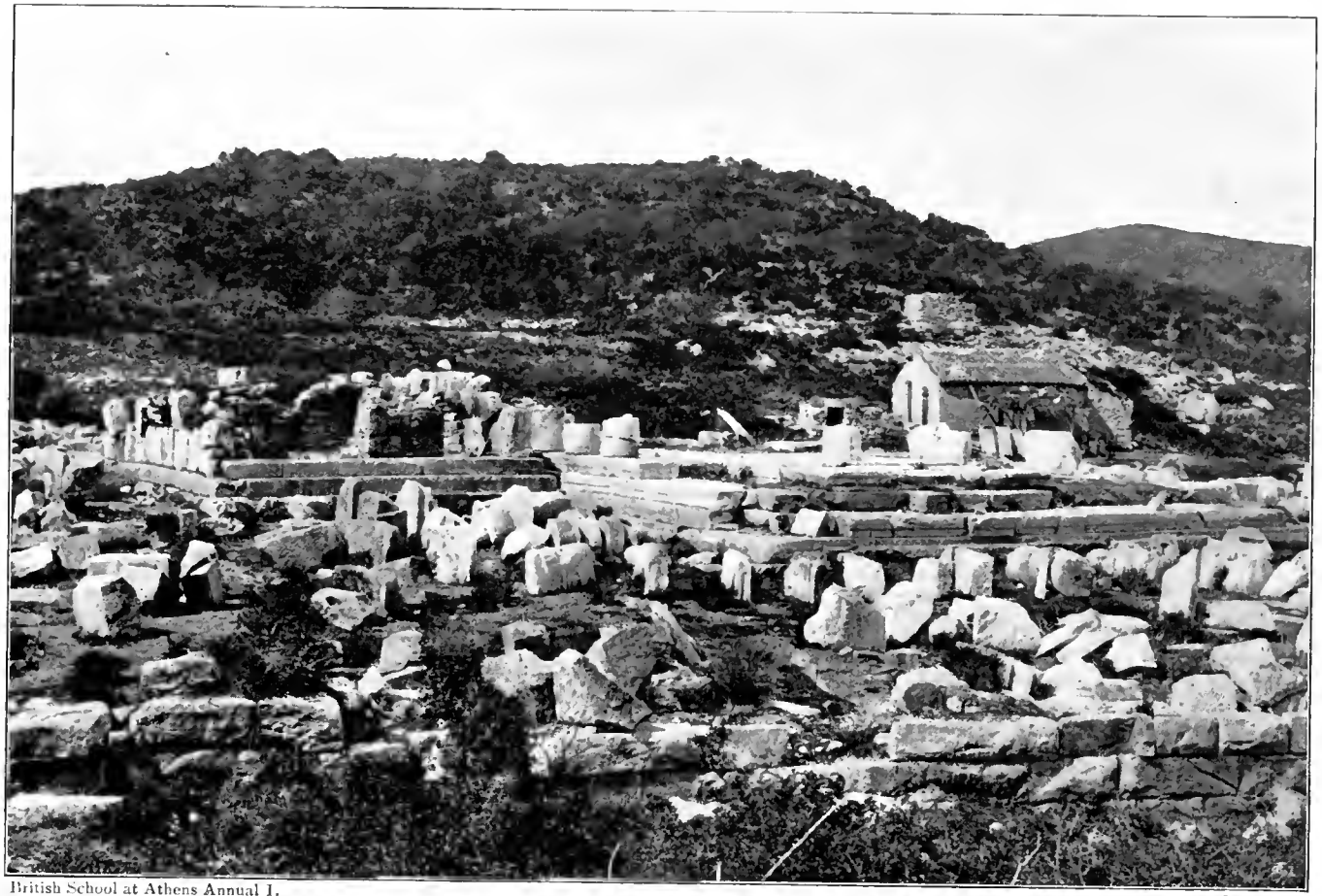
Valley of Uranâ.

Valley of Marathona.

Plain of Marathon, from the Tumulus.

MARATHON: THE TUMULUS.



TEMPLES AT RHAMNUS.